READ PERSPECTIVES

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– *Shereen Arraf, Ph.D.*

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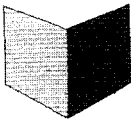

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- "Findings of the New York City Longitudinal Study: Hard Evidence on Bilingual and ESL Programs" - Barbara Mujica

- "The Cost of Bilingual Education in the U. S.: A Review of the ALEC Report" - Marsha Youngblood

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- A review of the exemplary Seattle Public Schools programs for 6,000 limited-English students from 90 different language backgrounds - Prof. Scott Baker, University of Oregon

Vol. IV, No. 1 (Spring 1997):

- An extensive analysis of the Collier-Thomas research studies on rate of second language learning in U. S. programs - Prof. Russell Gersten, University of Oregon

- An update on the achievements of students in the Bethlehem, PA, Public School English Acquisition Program - Prof. Judith Simons, St. Joseph's University

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INTRODUCTION

The field of education of language minority students is undergoing a sea change unlike anything we have seen before. In this issue of *READ Perspectives,* Rosalie Pedalino Porter and Shereen Arraf describe in great detail many aspects of this evolution, including these innovations:

- Increased parental involvement in choosing the type of bilingual education/English-as-a-second language program in which their children are enrolled

- A movement towards the inclusion of language minority students in major education initiatives and in statewide and national assessments, and a consequent sense of accountability to ensure that learning takes place

- The spread of locally-developed initiatives and programs that use a range of techniques and methodologies, and the talents of educators in the district, to develop coherent programs for students

- Increased realization that bilingual education and ESL instruction are not limited to the needs of Spanish-speaking students but must serve students who speak many different languages (e.g., Arabic, Serbo-Croatian, Russian, Cambodian)

- Increased collaboration between bilingual education, Title 1 services, and other district programs

- Increased concern with what students actually learn and with what truly engages teachers in terms of professional development.

Rosalie Pedalino Porter's "On the State of Bilingual Education 1990-95: *Forked Tongue* Continued" provides a comprehensive overview of these profound changes. In her review of recent research, she highlights the exciting advances made by local school districts where students are being introduced to academic content learning in English at a younger age and where principles of effective instruction are being incorporated into models of bilingual education. In the case of El Paso, for example, such advances result in a much more rapid integration of students into mainstream classrooms than occurs in more traditional approaches. Increasingly, researchers are finding that English language growth accelerates when students with some English language proficiency spend time with fluent English speakers, as is demonstrated by the El Paso and Seattle programs described by Porter.

Porter also addresses a current problem that has reached epidemic proportions in this country: exemption of students who are English language learners from state, local and/or national assessments. It is often the case that the longer a student is labelled as LEP, the longer she or he is exempted from assessment, and the longer the district has no accountability. Porter makes a persuasive case for inclusion of students who are English language learners in national and state assessments. As she indicates, by exempting English language learners from assessments until they are highly proficient in English, districts may exempt them for periods of up to seven years, thereby avoiding all accountability. Finding a solution to this problem is a current focal point of the governing board of the National Assessment of Academic Progress.

Perhaps the most passionate section of the article is the analysis of local movements by parents to fight for high quality programs that are truly bilingual, not merely classes conducted in Spanish. For instance, Porter describes the work of Las Familias in Los Angeles, an advocacy group that works with parents to help the school district address their needs and concerns. As chronicled in a recent (1/16/96) front-page feature in the Los Angeles Times, parents have forced the school to link English-language instruction with content-area instruction, beginning in the primary grades. As Porter points out, delaying this process until the fourth grade may simply come too late for many students, and she cites research indicating that there is no reason for such a lengthy delay.

Another fascinating aspect of Porter's article is her analysis of the SAIP study conducted by William Tikunoff, Tamra Lucas and associates, and described in a recent issue of READ Perspectives. The study is distinctive in that the researchers documented effective teaching practices as opposed to evaluating a specific instructional approach. In other words, they looked for approaches and techniques that could be used by teachers irrespective of the particular curriculum or district policy. Guidelines from this study can be used for professional development activities for teachers of English language learners, regardless of the native language of the students or of specific idiosyncrasies of a district's curriculum.

What Porter calls the "grass roots movement" is depicted in the second piece, Shereen Arraf's "The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program of the Dearborn Schools, Michigan: A Model for Systemic Change and Integration of Services." The striking features of the Dearborn program are its merger of Title 1 and bilingual education resources, its flexibility and creativity, and its commitment to ongoing professional development. It appears that in Dearborn, English language learners (most of whom come from Arabic-speaking homes) are often the

first to benefit from reforms in math, science, and reading comprehension instruction. Arraf shows how bilingual/ESL education is not merely a function of individual classrooms but rather a product of collaboration among teachers, administrators, paraprofessionals, and parents.

The unique approach to teaching LEP students in the Dearborn school district serves as one of the new models now available to other schools across the nation which are beginning to realize the shortcomings of the traditional bilingual classroom. Arraf and Porter, in describing these recent successes, and longstanding failures, do a real service to all educators faced with an increasingly diverse student population. Certainly they, and their future pupils, will benefit greatly from this present work.

Russell Gersten, Ph.D.
University of Oregon

ON THE STATE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION 1990-95: *FORKED TONGUE* CONTINUED

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Ed.D.

The issues raised and discussed at the time when *Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education* (1990) was first published have not been resolved, but substantial change is evident. In preparing new material for the second edition of *Forked Tongue*, to be published by Transaction Publishers at Rutgers University in May 1996, I have brought together information that is not easily accessible anywhere else in the country. It is the sum total of five years of advocating, consulting, speaking, writing, and agitating to improve the education of language minority children, a comprehensive report that I am in a unique position to provide.

In reviewing the contents of the original *Forked Tongue*, I decided that the most useful information to give readers is an extended description of recent developments in these particular areas: national research on effective programs for language minority students, changing demographics, program costs; substantially revised approaches to the education of limited-English students by a representative sampling of school districts; legislative initiatives to reform bilingual education laws at the federal and state level; the movement to make English the official language of the U.S. In conclusion I offer my personal reflections on the future of bilingual education.

The efforts being made, both financially and pedagogically, to help immigrant, migrant, and refugee school children who do not know the English language when they enter U.S. schools are still, in my view, largely misguided. The current population of limited-English students is being treated in ways that earlier immigrant groups were not. The politically righteous assumption that these students cannot learn the English language quickly and therefore must be taught all academic subjects in their native language for three to seven years still prevails. Twenty-eight years of classroom experience with this education policy and a growing body of research show little or no benefit for native language teaching in better learning either of English or of other subjects. These facts, however, have hardly dented the armor of the true believers in the bilingual education bureaucracy.

Yet some changes and improvements have occurred in this most contentious area of public education. *Forked Tongue*, in fact, has played some small part in promoting positive changes in the education of limited-English students in dozens of school districts across the country: by supporting the efforts to modify bilingual education laws in several states; by heightening the public awareness of the ineffective education policies and programs for these students; and, most important of all, by giving courage to hundreds of teachers in U.S. public schools who daily see the failure of bilingual programs. Research reports contribute additional evidence regarding the poor results of native language instruction as the superior road to English language competency for classroom work. But successful results from programs emphasizing intensive English are beginning to appear, now that some small measure of funding is being allocated to these so-called "alternative model programs."

What *Forked Tongue* has not succeeded in doing is improving the character and tone of the public dialogue. All too often, it remains almost impossible to voice criticism of bilingual education programs without being pilloried as a hater of foreigners and foreign languages and for contributing to the anti-immigrant climate. Additionally, little positive change has occurred in the past few years in reducing the established power of state education departments to impose education mandates on local school districts. The power of the bilingual education bureaucracy has hardly diminished, even in states like California where the state bilingual education law expired in 1987. However, the idea that native language programs are the single best solution for limited-English students is now being challenged, and this opposition is growing and gaining strength at the local school level.

UPDATING THE RESEARCH

The basic questions posed in the early years of bilingual education still have not found clear-cut answers. Are there measurable benefits for limited-English students when they are taught in their native language for a period of time, both in their learning of the English language for academic achievement and in their mastery of school subjects? Has a clear advantage emerged for a particular pedagogy among the best known models--transitional bilingual education, English as a Second Language, structured immersion, two-way, dual immersion, or developmental bilingual programs? There is no more consensus on the answers to these questions than there was five years ago. However, there is growing evidence of an almost total lack of accountability in states which have invested most heavily in bilingual education for the past fifteen or twenty years and have not collected data or evaluated programs to produce answers to the questions raised above. The major reports that have been published in recent years include such evidence. Some of the following

studies were examined at length in earlier issues of READ Perspectives but are worth summarizing at this time in order to give a comprehensive review of the research of the past five years.

The GAO Study

Since the late 1970s, the annual school enrollment of limited-English students has increased at a faster rate than the rest of the school population. The costs of special programs for these students nationwide are beginning to be tallied: in January 1994, the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) published *Limited-English Proficiency: A Growing and Costly Educational Challenge Facing Many School Districts* at the request of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources. The GAO study provides an overview of the serious problems confronting U.S. public schools in meeting the needs of limited-English students, new demographics on where these students are concentrated, and a detailed description of five representative school districts with rapidly growing LEP populations.

Table 1.
Limited-English Proficient (LEP) Students in Five Districts and Their Proportion of the Total Enrollment, 1982-1992

District	Total Enrollment		LEP Enrollment				Number of Languages 1992**
	1982	1992	1982	%*	1992	%*	
A	193,701	197,413	24,021	12.40%	39,569	20.0%	7***
B	12,963	11,998	1,256	9.90	1,427	11.8	12
C	46,752	73,647	3,092	6.60	20,937	28.4	88
D	24,565	28,739	4,395	17.80	7,108	24.7	57
E	57,498	74,084	7,815	13.50	24,093	32.5	37

* Percentage of the total enrollment

** Number of languages present in 1982 was not available for the most part

*** District A reported 60 additional languages but documents specifying those languages were not available. They reported 94% of LEP students as Spanish speakers and 2400 students speaking other languages.

Prepared by R. P. Porter from data in GAO report.

(Reprinted from READ Perspectives, Spring 1995, Vol. II-1)

Briefly, the GAO report highlights those problems in the five districts which are common to all public schools with LEP students:

- immigrant students are almost 100% non-English speaking on arrival in the U.S.
- arrival of LEP students occurs at different times during the school year, which causes upheavals in classrooms and educational programs
- some high school students have not been schooled in their native lands and lack literacy skills in any language
- there is a high level of family poverty and transiency and a low level of parental involvement in students' education
- there are acute shortages of bilingual teachers, textbooks and assessment instruments in the native languages

The information gathered by the GAO study is valuable to educators, researchers and policy makers. An alarming fact reported in this study is mentioned only in passing and never explained: immigrant children account for only 43% of the limited-English students in our schools. Who, then, make up the remaining 57% and why are such large numbers of native-born children classified as limited- or non-English proficient and placed in native language instruction programs? In a private conversation with one of the GAO regional managers I was unable to get an explanation for the high percentage of native-born students classified as limited-English. I was told that the GAO had not found an agreed upon definition of what a "limited-English person" is and that children who speak English but may not read and write it well enough for school work are included in this category. In that case, a large number of students surely must be enrolled in the wrong programs, being taught in another language rather than receiving remedial help in reading and writing in English.

Curiously, the GAO study does not provide any data on the costs of different types of bilingual education programs even though "cost" is part of the study's title. However, a report on costs and other issues of bilingual education in the United States was prepared by the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) as a special supplement to its publication, *The Report Card on American Education 1994.*

The ALEC Study: Bilingual Education in the United States, 1991-92

The ALEC Study makes a bold attempt to unravel the mysteries of exactly how many students are served by special programs that aim to remove the language barrier to an equal education, what kinds of programs they are enrolled in, where these

students are concentrated (by state), and how much is actually being spent in this special effort. As a former school administrator, I know that it is quite possible to account for special costs: in the Newton, Massachusetts, Public Schools annual budget there is an account for bilingual/ESL programs that covers all the costs incurred for the LEP students including teachers, teacher aides, books, materials, transportation, and administration. The amount of money spent each year in Newton, over and above the school costs for general education, averaged about $1,000 per LEP student. Not all school districts keep such information and it is not collected consistently by all state education departments because this is not required by the federal government.

Analyzing data from the National Center for Education Statistics, the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), and various other federal and state sources, the ALEC study synthesizes the data to arrive at these conclusions for the 1991-92 school year:

- on average, all federal funding for education amounts to 6%; state and local sources provide roughly 47% each

- federal funding for bilingual education, $101 million in 1991 and $116 million in 1992, was allocated primarily to native language instruction programs, giving only 20-30% to ESL programs

- 2.3 million limited-English students were enrolled in U.S. public schools while only 1.9 million were enrolled in any special language program, leaving 450,000 LEP students without any special language help

- of the 1.9 million students in special programs, 60% were enrolled in bilingual, 22% in ESL and 18% in a category labelled "unknown," because states could not describe their special language programs

- candidly explaining the difficulties of collecting strictly accurate data, the costs of programs for LEP students were estimated to be $5.5 billion (56%) for bilingual programs; $1.9 billion (20%) for ESL, and $2.4 billion (24%) for unknown programs, totaling $9.9 billion for 1991-92

- projecting the same recent increases in enrollments, spending on special language programs would amount to $12 billion in 1993. (4-5)

The ALEC study draws some tenable conclusions from the data summarized above, while it admits that the approximate cost figures may be an over- or underestimation

of what is actually spent. Both federal and state agencies do give preference to native language instruction programs over ESL in funding decisions by a wide margin, even though "there is no conclusive research that demonstrates the educational superiority of bilingual education over ESL." (3) Even if the ALEC cost estimates were overestimated, this is only one of several recent reports that point out the widespread lack of accountability in bilingual education. Twenty-seven years of heavy investment in mainly bilingual programs have not produced exact data on how much these programs cost or how successful they are in realizing their goals in student achievement.

The cost to adult immigrants of not being fluent in the dominant language has been reported by economists Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller. In a 1995 study, they analyzed the differences in human capital earnings in some of the largest immigrant receiving countries, between immigrants who have acquired dominant language fluency and those who have not. Earnings for immigrants with English-language skills were 8.3% higher in Australia, 16.9% in the U.S., and 12.2% higher in Canada. (Chiswick, 279) They also defined the factors that contribute to the development of fluency in the new language: exposure to the language, efficiency in second language acquisition (related to level of schooling and age), and perceived economic benefits from language fluency. (Chiswick, 246) These elements are comparable to the factors contributing to successful second language learning and school achievement for LEP students: sufficient exposure to the target language, sufficient schooling in the new language, and an understanding of the benefits of second language acquisition for school success and complete integration with English-speaking, mainstream students. The research has yet to be done on differences in earnings for immigrant/migrant/refugee children schooled in the U.S. who do not acquire English-language proficiency as a result of their long years in bilingual classrooms.

Although cost should not be the determining factor in deciding on special language programs for LEP students, analyses of cost benefits inevitably do affect decision making on educational policy. Some recent studies comparing native language instruction programs with intensive English language assistance provide indirect cost comparisons from the oblique angle of student achievement. In both the El Paso and New York City longitudinal studies, described below, students in the English language, structured immersion programs met program goals in 3-4 years and were then assigned to regular classrooms without special help, while students in the traditional bilingual classrooms needed 6-7 years to reach the same level of skills for mainstreaming. Although neither study set out to study costs, it becomes obvious that the expense of giving large numbers of students extra services for 2-4 additional years is formidable.

The El Paso Bilingual Immersion Project

The first three years' outcomes in the El Paso experiment with English language immersion were reported in the first edition of *Forked Tongue* (68-69); however, the final results of this crucial seven-year study were not analyzed until a few years later. In 1992, the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development (READ) published a monograph, by Russell Gersten, John Woodward and Susan Schneider, on the longitudinal study of the El Paso Bilingual Immersion Project. Gersten and Woodward published a later analysis of the El Paso project in *The Elementary School Journal* in 1995. Evaluation of the El Paso results in the performance of Spanish-speaking, limited-English students clearly demonstrates advantages for the immersion approach over the transitional bilingual education (TBE) model:

- The Iowa Test of Basic Skills (in English) results for grades 4 and 5 do show superior performance in all academic areas for students in the immersion program over students in the transitional bilingual program (1995, 236)

- by grade 6, 99% of immersion students were mainstreamed; at the end of 7th grade, 35% of TBE students were still in the bilingual program (1995, 232)

- well designed bilingual immersion leads to more rapid, more successful, and increased integration of Latino students into the mainstream, with no detrimental effects in any area of achievement for students who took part in this program. The increased integration may lead to a decrease in high school dropout rates among Hispanic students. Subsequent research is needed to explore the possibility of this effect of immersion programs (1992, 31)

- major strengths of the bilingual immersion program are its use of contemporary thinking on language acquisition and literacy development and its relatively stress-free approach to the rapid learning of English in the primary grades (1992, 31)

- teacher questionnaires revealed much greater satisfaction with the early, systematic teaching of English in the immersion program than with the slow introduction of English in the bilingual program (1992, 30)

- student interviews indicated no significant differences in reactions to the two programs. There was no evidence, from students, parents or teachers, that native language teaching produces a higher level of self-esteem or that early immersion in a second language is more stressful, two of the common beliefs promoted by bilingual education advocates. (1992, 30-31)

Research such as that conducted in El Paso is invaluable in the ongoing debate on program effectiveness. Because the comparison was made between two radically different teaching methods in the same school district with the same population of limited-English students, this study provides incontrovertible proof of the benefits to students of early second language learning. More recently, the New York City public schools published a report that threw a metaphorical grenade into the bilingual education camp.

The New York Study

Educational Progress of Students in Bilingual and ESL Programs: A Longitudinal Study, 1990-1994, was published in October 1994 by the Board of Education of the City of New York. New York City invested $300 million in 1993 in bilingual programs where the instruction was given in Spanish, Chinese, Haitian Creole, Russian, Korean, Vietnamese, French, Greek, Arabic and Bengali--an investment that was not only misguided but apparently harmful to the student beneficiaries, as the results of the longitudinal study reveal. (NY Times, 1)

The New York City study is important because, like the El Paso study, it examines student achievement in basically different programs in large, urban school districts, and it charts student progress over a period of years. The criteria by which student success was measured included the number of years served in a special language program before exiting to a mainstream classroom, reading levels achieved in English, and performance in math. The two groups of limited-English students whose achievement was monitored were (1) speakers of Spanish or of Haitian Creole who were enrolled in bilingual classrooms where they received mostly native language instruction in reading, writing and school subjects, with brief English language lessons, and (2) students from Russian, Korean and Chinese language backgrounds who were placed in ESL classes where all instruction is provided through a special English language curriculum. Total enrollment of students in the study:

11,320 entered Kindergarten in fall 1990
2,053 " 1st grade " " "
841 " 2nd. " " "
797 " 3rd. " " "
754 " 6th " " "
1,366 " 9th " " " (NY Study, ix)

As any disinterested observer might have anticipated, there is strong evidence showing that the earlier a second language is introduced, the more rapidly it is learned for academic purposes. Such evidence flies in the face of the received wisdom of

Jim Cummins' theories that were developed to justify bilingual education, after the fact--the facilitation theory and the threshold hypothesis (Chapter 3 of *Forked Tongue*). With appropriate teaching, children can learn a new language quickly and can learn subject matter taught in that language. Reading and writing skills can be mastered and math can be learned successfully in a second language, as thousands of New York City school children have demonstrated.

The most riveting revelation of this research is the reported fact that, "At all grade levels, students served in ESL-only programs exited their programs faster than those served in bilingual programs." (NY Study, ii) For students who entered school in grades kindergarten, 2 and 6, the three-year exit rates were as follows:

	Exit Rate ESL-only	Exit Rate Bilingual
Kindergarten	79.3%	51.5%
Grade 2	67.5%	22.1%
Grade 6	32.7%	6.9% (NY Study, ii)

The three-year exit rates for LEP students who entered kindergarten from different language groups, whether they were in ESL or bilingual programs were reported as follows:

- 91.8% for Korean
- 87.4% for Russian
- 82.6% for Chinese
- 58.7% for Haitian Creole
- 50.6% for Spanish (NY Study, ix)

Differences among language groups remained steady even for students entering the New York schools in the higher grades. Critics of the study, including Luis O. Reyes of the New York City School Board, allege that Korean, Russian and Chinese background students are from middle class families and that the social class difference invalidates the study. (Krashen, 1995) Socioeconomic data is not reported in the study. Since we do not know how many of the children in any of the language groups are from poor, working class, or middle class families, we should not make unwarranted assumptions. One could reasonably assume, however, that most immigrant, migrant, and refugee children attending the New York City Public Schools do not come from affluent families. The undeniable fact is that children from Spanish and Haitian Creole speaking families are generally funneled into bilingual classrooms while children from other language groups are assigned to ESL classrooms. I firmly believe that the type of schooling these children receive makes

a large difference in their ability to achieve at their own personal capacity. I believe, even more firmly, that Haitian and Latino children would succeed in mastering English language skills better and faster and, therefore, join their English-speaking peers in mainstream classes much sooner than is now the case if they were given the same opportunity given to Russian, Korean and Chinese students.

Exiting the special program classrooms more expeditiously is not only a cost consideration but a matter of integration and opportunity. Remaining in substantially segregated bilingual classrooms for several years does not equip students to compete in the broader life of the school and community--in fact it has the opposite effect. The New York Study reports the highest success in school achievement for students who were in the special language programs the shortest amount of time, one or two years. "Students who tested out of LEP-entitlement after one or two years of service generally performed above average on the citywide tests of reading (in English) and mathematics that were given in Spring, 1994. However, there were large differences in performance between those who had been served in ESL-only versus bilingual programs, and between those who exited after one or two years versus those who exited after three or more years." (NY Study, ix)

Even more important than the time element is the performance of LEP students in regular classrooms after they exit a special program. Once again, we find that students who had been enrolled in ESL classrooms received better scores in both reading and math than those who had been in native language classrooms. This must be the ultimate measure of program effectiveness: how well students are able to perform, unassisted, in regular classrooms after they have received the special services, for a period of time, of one or another special program. The New York study answers this question most emphatically in favor of intensive English language programs.

In my opinion, the New York data substantially refute the assertions of Virginia Collier at George Mason University who flatly states that LEP students who are in English language programs need five to ten years to reach English fluency sufficient for subject matter learning in English, but only four to seven years if they are in bilingual programs. (NABE Report, 1995) I have heard Professor Collier make this very statement at the Georgetown University Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics in March 1995 and at the international convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Others Languages (TESOL) in Baltimore in April 1994, and, as a one-time teacher of LEP children myself, I must protest these assertions. Collier and Thomas are expected to release their major study in spring 1996 and the opportunity to assess their work is eagerly awaited.

An important sequel to the publication of the New York study was the filing of a suit against the State Commissioner of Education by the Bushwick Parents Organization which represents 150 Brooklyn families. The suit charges the State Education Department with routinely granting waivers that permit school officials to keep tens of thousands of children in classes taught in their native language beyond the three-year legal limit, and, in some cases, beyond the six-year, absolute limit as well. The families allege that although the granting of waivers is supposedly predicated on a review of individual cases, the State Department of Education is evading the three- and six-year time limit on bilingual program enrollment by the wholesale waiver approvals. They also charge that bilingual education is ineffective. As reported in the New York Times, "tens of thousands of immigrant children in New York City have been permitted to 'languish' for up to six years in bilingual classes, learning neither English nor other subjects particularly well." (NY Times, 9/18/95)

As an expert witness in this law suit, I have reviewed the affidavits of the petitioners and respondents. The Bushwick Parents Organization specifically alleges that "because the children of its members routinely remain segregated in bilingual education programs in excess of three years, and in some cases in excess of six years, contrary to S 3204(2) of the State Education Law, these children are not receiving adequate instruction in English, the crucial skill that leads to equal opportunity in schooling, jobs, and public life in the United States." (Memorandum of Law in Opposition to Respondent's and Respondent-Intervenor's Motions to Dismiss, 19) The affidavits of some of the Bushwick parents and educators reveal the unremitting failure of New York State's education policy and its harmful effects on school children, as illustrated in the following excerpts:

> My grandson was in bilingual education from kindergarten through fifth grade at P.S. 377 in Bushwick. He is now in seventh grade, and cannot read in either English or Spanish... We and other people we know were pressured into keeping our children in bilingual education by school officials. We were told that because my grandson has a Spanish last name, he should remain in bilingual classes. My grandson attended Head Start in English, and did not speak any Spanish at that time...I am very frustrated with the failure of the bilingual education program to teach my grandson either English or Spanish. (Ada Jimenez)

> My son is eleven years old, and is in sixth grade at I.S. 291 in Bushwick. He participated in a Head Start program in English but has been in the bilingual program for six years... I have spoken with his teacher to try to switch him into regular English classes...My son is confused between

English and Spanish. I am unhappy with what he has learned in the bilingual education program. (Maria Cruz)

My son is in Ninth grade at Bushwick High School, and has been in bilingual education since he entered the school system... My son is confused between Spanish and English. I have never been consulted about whether I wished to remove him from bilingual classes. (Carmen Quinones)

As part of my duties as Assistant Principal, I was required to observe Social Studies class at Eastern District High School. I observed that English was rarely used in the supposedly bilingual classes. The ninth grade classes were generally taught entirely in Spanish, and even by twelfth grade the classes were still conducted approximately 85% in Spanish, with written material and exams in Spanish as well. I attempted many times to withdraw students from the bilingual education program when I thought that they no longer needed to be in all-Spanish classes...I was never once successful at withdrawing a student from a bilingual education program. In my experience, once a child was in a bilingual education program, he remained in such a program and was never mainstreamed into regular English-speaking classes...many students graduating from Eastern District High School were illiterate in both English and Spanish. (Edwin Selzer, former Assistant Principal, Eastern District High School, Brooklyn)

Within the last two years, we have spent a great deal of time examining the bilingual program. We have found that children in the bilingual program have not been improving their English skills, as their entire class day is taught in Spanish and only one period each day is devoted to studying English. Many of the children in bilingual classes were born in the United States and attended Head Start programs in English, but were then placed in bilingual programs when they entered the public school setting. Parents...discovered that their children were not advancing in English and, in many cases, their children's performance on English language tests were declining... Although many parents are aware of their right to remove their children from bilingual programs, many parents indicate that when they initiate the idea of withdrawing their children from bilingual programs, the individual teachers and principals inform them that the bilingual settings are the best environment for their children...many of the parents are unable to overcome the pressure put on them by these school officials...Many of these students graduate from school having never fully developed their English language skills, and they are therefore unprepared for higher education or employment in jobs in which English language skills are used. (Sister Kathy Maire, educator and organizer of the Bushwick Parents Organization)

These statements make abundantly clear what has been observed in school districts from Massachusetts to Texas to California: the temporary assistance needed by limited-English children has evolved into a long-term assignment to segregated classrooms and the denial of parents' rights to a choice in their children's educational opportunities. A positive outcome for the Brooklyn parents who are mounting this challenge to the state education bureaucracy is crucial for the city's students and, one hopes, will embolden parents in other districts.

The California Study and Others, in Brief

New York City's willingness to monitor the progress of LEP students and report the results to the public is highly praiseworthy when we survey the lack of accountability in other parts of the country. The State of California, with 1.2 million limited-English students (43% of all LEP students in the U.S.) and a 20-year history of involvement with bilingual education, commissioned an evaluation of educational programs for these students. *Meeting the Challenge of Language Diversity: An Evaluation of Programs for Pupils with Limited Proficiency in English,* the published report of a two-year study, 1990-92, shows generally poor results for bilingual education programs in California and essentially evades the legislature's requirement that it provide "information to determine which model for educating LEP pupils is most effective and cost effective." (Meeting the Challenge, 3)

Major findings of this study:

1. California public schools do not have valid assessments of the performance for students with limited proficiency in English. Therefore, the state and the public cannot hold schools accountable for LEP students achieving high levels of performance. (emphasis added)

2. Many schools do not reclassify students (exit them from the bilingual programs with appropriate skills to work in mainstream classrooms), keeping them in native language classrooms well beyond the time when they are fluent in English. "It is not surprising that many students may wait years to be formally retested for program exit and that many others may never be reclassified, going on to the middle school still bearing the LEP label." (38)

3. Junior and senior high school LEP students do not have access to core academic subjects through Sheltered English or ESL. Long stays in bilingual programs in elementary schools delay the effective learning of English language literacy skills which are so important for secondary school work. (Rossier, 1995)

Meeting the Challenge presents a bleak picture of twenty years of bilingual education in California. When the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual Bicultural Act of 1976 expired in 1987, the California State Department of Education sent notification to each school district that the intent of the Act would still be promoted by state regulations, principally, "that the primary goal of all [bilingual] programs is, as effectively and efficiently as possible, to develop in each child fluency in English." (Honig, 1987, 14-15) *Meeting the Challenge* fails to tell us how or if this goal is being properly met while offering a variety of excuses for not fulfilling this mission.

The weaknesses in this giant instructional system for limited-English students--one out of every five students in California--are of vast proportions. The fact that the State Department of Education has allowed school districts to evade their responsibility to assess and report on student progress shows an unconscionable lack of accountability by this powerful bureaucracy. If we cannot hold the schools responsible for program outcomes after twenty years, then we must place the blame for this failure squarely on the shoulders of the state agency that has forcefully promoted the bilingual education policy but has not monitored the results.

California's high school dropout rates, as reported in June 1995, amounted to a statewide average of 5% per year, or a 4-year average of 20% of students leaving school before graduation. Discouraging as that seems, the dropout rate for Latino students statewide is even higher--28%, compared to 10% for Asian students, and 12% for non-Latino white students. The four-year dropout rate for the Los Angeles Unified School District, the district enrolling the highest percentage of LEP students in the state, is a shocking 43.6%. (L.A. Times, 6/14/95)

In 1993 the Los Angeles Unified School District embarked on a plan to improve its bilingual education programs, partly through expanded teacher training in the native languages of the students (actually, in Spanish only). (L.A. Times, 9/3-4/93) Clearly, the increased emphasis on native language instruction has not yet had any positive effect on the dropout rates for LEP students in the Los Angeles schools. The latest Los Angeles figures on dropout rates by ethnic breakdown, as reported by the State Department of Education in October 1994 for the 1993-94 school year, are 44.4% for Hispanic students, three-fourths of whom are enrolled in bilingual classes in the district. (emphasis added)

Robert E. Rossier, in a review of the California study (1995) argues that, "Young people of limited-English proficiency have the same right as their native English-speaking schoolmates to have their linguistic and academic performance evaluated periodically by measures which clearly indicate to them and to the schools the

extent of their progress toward the goals set for all students." (46-47) Rossier ends his review with two powerful indictments of the California study and the system that it attempted to evaluate:

> While the report presents no statistical data that would shed light on the effectiveness of current programs, it does provide several items of information that, read carefully, point to the conclusion that California's heavy reliance on native language teaching has not served LEP students well. The conclusion could be formed that the bilingual programs described as exemplary have instead resulted in delaying the learning of English, delaying the enrollment of LEP students in mainstream classes, and, in many cases, denying these students the opportunity to enroll in classes required for high school graduation. Not having access to classes available to their English-speaking classmates, LEP students are, in effect, denied an important civil right: the right to equal educational opportunity. (47-48)

> ...*Meeting the Challenge* has shown--as much by what it has avoided saying as by what it has said--that this opportunity will continue to be withheld from them until we are able to look truthfully at the havoc that the programs of the past twenty years have caused. (48)

As in the case of the Bushwick parents in Brooklyn, a group of Spanish-speaking parents in Los Angeles is actively protesting the bilingual program in which their children have been enrolled. (L. A. Times, 1/16/96) Las Familias del Pueblo (The Families of the Community) recently held its first parent meeting in thirteen years of providing after-school care to the children of garment workers. What drew so many parents out to this meeting after a hard day's work in the factories nearby was the opportunity to discuss their children's education in the Ninth Street School. Four-hundred children attend the Ninth Street School, 90% of them limited-English speakers. Although Las Familias del Pueblo had voiced its dissatisfaction with a program that delays the teaching of English for several years, there was real consternation at the end of the last school year when only six students (about 1% of the enrollment) mastered enough English to exit the district's native language classes.

School administrators claim that more English is being taught than in previous years and that the goal is to accelerate the move of bilingual students into mainstream classrooms, although they will not be able to report on the effects of these efforts for several years. But parents are not reassured and their leader, Sister Alice Callahan, who founded Las Familias as part of her work to help the poor and homeless, is reportedly alarmed at the broken English spoken by the children and the fact that year after year they continue to do all their homework in Spanish. She fears that without formal instruction in reading or writing English, they will not

acquire the grammar or vocabulary necessary for secondary school or for college entrance. Callahan said,

> What we know is the bilingual system was intended to help children learn another language and maybe it works in some places, but we know our children are not learning to read and write in English...And poor kids don't have the luxury of catching up later on. (L. A. Times, 1/16/96)

The Ninth Street School does not allow bilingual students to begin reading in English until fourth grade--four years spent almost entirely in Spanish-language schooling. Parents may indeed wonder how their children can overcome such an impediment. A 16-year-old student interviewed at the parents' meeting revealed that he has been in Los Angeles schools since kindergarten and spent several years in bilingual (meaning Spanish-language) classrooms in the Ninth Street School. He has managed to be admitted to a magnet high school and is working very hard not to flunk out. "I can read, but I can't understand what I am reading. They never showed me the vocabulary I need now." Las Familias del Pueblo and Sister Callahan have obvious cause to call for urgent action.

Massachusetts Revisited

Ironically, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which passed the first state law mandating native language teaching in 1971, Chapter 71-A, has an even more dismal record than California in this area of public accountability. Efforts to reform the Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE)law have been successfully resisted, even though there can hardly be one legislator who has any documented proof for the effectiveness of bilingual education in Massachusetts. A commission was appointed by Governor Weld to survey the status of bilingual education in the state, and in December 1994 reported this conclusion:

> ...we do not know, on the basis of measured outcomes, whether TBE programs in Massachusetts produce good results or poor results. There are no comprehensive data that evaluate the performance of TBE pupils compared with pupils from other groups. This specialized program which accounts for 5% of all pupils in Massachusetts public schools and 17% of all pupils in Boston public schools is not held separately accountable for its performance. (Massachusetts Bilingual Education Commission, 41)

Apparently, the commission has recommended that the Commonwealth Department of Education develop new guidelines on accountability as soon as suitable tests are developed. As a veteran Massachusetts educator who has seen many a set of "guidelines" arrive with a flourish and disappear without a trace, I reserve judgment on the latest pronouncements.

Massachusetts probably leads the country in zany educational experiments. I reported briefly in *Forked Tongue* (30-31) on the project to encourage the use of Cape Verdean, a non-standard dialect of Portuguese, as a classroom language of instruction. The Boston Public Schools, in its infinite wisdom, now maintains a K-12 bilingual program in Kriolu, a dialect spoken in the Cape Verde Islands which has no alphabet, no written language and no books. Massachusetts is thought to be the only place in the world to have school rooms in which Kriolu is the language of instruction, with Kriolu programs in Boston, Brockton and New Bedford schools. Portuguese is the official language of education in Cape Verde. (Boston Globe, 5/7/95)

Aside from the minor matters of alphabet, a written language or books, there are these exquisite complications. Cape Verdean students may speak one of many dialects and not understand Kriolu, as explained by a science teacher in the Dearborn School, Boston: "Sometimes a student gets upset because he's not understanding the Fogo dialect so you have to go back and help him in Kriolu or Portuguese." Communication between the schools and Cape Verdean parents is not improved either. Massachusetts law requires that school documents be sent to parents in the student's native language. A teacher at the Condon School, Eileen Fonseca, says it frustrates parents to receive a notice written in Kriolu. "When we send home report cards and matriculation papers in Kriolu, parents complain. This is new to them. They have to have it read three times, or they just ask for Portuguese or English, often so it can be read to them by family or friends." One parent made this comment, "They sent me a letter apparently to tell me something. I never understood what it was trying to say. I called to say that if the intent of the letter is to communicate, it would be better in Portuguese." (Boston Globe, A94)

The Kriolu Caper makes an amusing, now-I've-heard-everything anecdote, but the enormity of such folly in educational policy is no laughing matter. This program neither helps students learn the language and acquire the literacy skills necessary for school achievement, nor does it facilitate communication between school and family. What it does do is foster resentment in the Cape Verdean community that may lead to misunderstandings between home and school, a situation not unlike the misguided attempt to make Black English the language of instruction for African-American school children two decades ago. The Peoples' Republic of Massachusetts is in serious need of a reality check.

The Special Alternative Instructional Programs (SAIP) Study

William Tikunoff and his associates, under the auspices of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), published the first survey of successful English-language intensive programs in U.S. public schools in 1991.

Until recently, very little attention had been given to programs for LEP students that do not use native language teaching. From 1968 when the first Bilingual Education Act was passed until 1988, 96% of federal funding for demonstration projects and research studies went to native language teaching programs, with a meager 4% for programs concentrating on English language teaching. In 1988 Congress voted to revise the funding formula to allocate 25% to "Special Alternative Instructional Programs," as these English-teaching programs are labelled.

The SAIP report is a descriptive study of nine school districts in the U.S., selected for their well-documented success in educating limited-English students. Through careful observation of classrooms and examination of school records, this study presents detailed data on effective teaching practices. How do these particular schools in suburban, rural and metropolitan areas manage to teach their LEP students English rapidly and effectively and to teach school subjects in English to students from many different language backgrounds? The study supplies the answers to this central question by describing the program features in each school that contribute to positive outcomes for LEP students. It lays out a blueprint for building solidly efficient English-language based instruction for students from kindergarten through 12th grade.

Russell Gersten and associates at the University of Oregon, in their review of the SAIP study (1995, a), summarize the various ways that teachers of LEP students are meeting effectively the dual challenge of teaching English language literacy--speaking, reading and writing--and school subjects such as mathematics, science and social studies, in English. They emphasize the key lessons from the Tikunoff study: school programs must be restructured to respond more flexibly to LEP students' needs for higher levels of English proficiency, and teachers need better training in merging English language development with content area instruction.

The Rossell/Baker Review: The Educational Effectiveness of Bilingual Education

This section will conclude with a review of an unpublished work-in-progress by Rossell and Baker that summarizes the major studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education and analyzes those studies that are methodologically acceptable.

Social science research in education is, at best, an approximation of true scientific research. School children cannot be isolated in laboratory test tubes and studied under pristine conditions, controlling for minute variables. In the area of bilingual education research, the quality of the product is generally acknowledged to be especially low. The elements of a methodologically valid evaluation of a special effort should include, at the minimum:

- random assignment of subjects to avoid self-selection bias
- comparison of like subjects, i.e., same ethnic group or language background, or socioeconomic status
- a control group to compare with the group receiving the special program (treatment)
- pre-testing to establish that students in different groups are starting with the same traits, i.e., all are limited or non-English speakers, or statistical adjustments are made for pre-treatment differences
- post-testing to determine the effect of different treatments
- assurance that one group does not receive extra benefits, aside from the difference in treatments, such as after-school programs, or a longer school day.

In the area of bilingual education research there is the added problem that the label is applied to a variety of educational practices, ranging from the classic model in which native language instruction is given 80-90% of the school day to the other extreme where the teacher may use a word or two of another language on occasion. This complicates the work of analyzing the effects of bilingual programs.

Rossell and Baker read over 500 studies, 300 of which were program evaluations. The authors found 72 methodologically acceptable studies, that is, studies that show the effect of transitional bilingual education on English language learning, reading and mathematics, compared to 1) "submersion" or doing nothing, 2) English as a Second Language, 3) structured immersion in English, and 4) maintenance bilingual education. The authors' overall finding, which is of crucial importance as this is the most current, comprehensive analysis of the research, is that, "there is still...no consistent research support for transitional bilingual education as a superior instructional practice for improving the English language achievement of limited-English-proficient children." (emphasis added, 14-15)

The table that follows provides a clear illustration of the poor results for transitional bilingual education programs which prove to be either no better than other approaches or, in most cases, to be worse than other alternatives. In only a very small percentage of the studies does bilingual education show better results. The data comparing TBE assistance with classrooms where students are given no special help at all (submersion) are especially damning for TBE and are rarely reported. Here we see that TBE is better than submersion in only 22% of the studies in reading; in only 7% of the test results in language learning; and in 9% of the programs in math achievement. (16)

Table 2.
% of Methodologically Acceptable Studies* Demonstrating
Program Superiority, Equality, or Inferiority
by Achievement Test Outcome

	READING**	LANGUAGE	MATH
TBE v. Submersion (Do Nothing)			
TBE Better	22%	7%	9%
No Difference	45%	29%	56%
TBE Worse	33%	64%	35%
Total N	60	14	34
TBE v. ESL			
TBE Better	0%	0%	25%
No Difference	71%	67%	50%
TBE Worse	29%	33%	25%
Total N	7	3	4
TBE v. Submersion/ESL			
TBE Better	19%	6%	11%
No Difference	48%	35%	55%
TBE Worse	33%	59%	34%
Total N	67	17	38
TBE v. Structured Immersion			
TBE Better	0%	0%	0%
No Difference	17%	100%	63%
TBE Worse	83%	0%	38%
Total N	12	1	8
Structured Immersion v. ESL			
Immersion Better	100%	0%	0%
No Difference	0%	0%	0%
Total N	3	0	0
TBE v. Maint. BE			
TBE Better	100%	0%	0%
Total N	1	0	0

* Studies are listed in more than one category if there were different effects for different grades or cohorts.
** Oral English achievement for preschool programs.

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How can state and federal education policy supporting transitional bilingual education hold up much longer in the face of such negative evidence? The reason for mandating bilingual education programs was the expectation that they would help limited-English students do better than if they were given no help at all. In fact, the U.S. Supreme Court's Lau decision of 1974 specifically requires that something special be done for these students. Hence, if bilingual education is no better than or worse than doing nothing, the advocates for this failed remedy have much to answer for.

Rossell and Baker discuss Cummins' facilitation theory and threshold hypothesis at some length, systematically refuting the particular studies supporting these ideas. Cummins' theoretical support for transitional bilingual education was pronounced after the fact, about ten years after bilingual programs had been started--not as an educational but as a civil rights initiative.

No credible evidence yet exists to suggest that children who are taught in their native language until they reach a certain threshold (about seven years of education) will reach a higher level of academic achievement than children who are taught in a second language from an early age. Neither is there any evidence for the notion that children must be taught to read first in their native language so that they can then transfer the skills to reading in a second language with ease. The arguments advanced by Rossell and Baker, disproving the validity of the studies (Collier, Skutnabb-Kangas, Burkheimer, Ramirez) that claim to support Cummins' hypotheses, are valuable to an understanding of bilingual education's basic fallacy. The fundamental questions are clearly stated, "what knowledge transfers from the native tongue to the second language that cannot be learned simply from the second language learning process alone? ...what particular mental processes or items of literacy related knowledge possessed by someone who learns to read in his native tongue enables him or her to surpass the child who learns to read or write in the second language?" (31)

A graphic illustration of these points is presented in the following example:

> ...while it is true that individuals who are literate in their native tongue are easier to teach a second language to, this tells us nothing about how non-literate individuals should be taught, nor the language they should be taught in. It is probably also true that a person who has been unable to learn to ride a bike is a harder person to teach to ski, but this does not necessarily mean that the best way to teach a non-bike rider how to ski is to spend years teaching them how to ride a bike. The bilingual education literature, however, is rife with such unwarranted inferential leaps. (29)

I am impelled to inject a personal note at this time about my own acquisition of a second language and literacy. As a six-year-old immigrant child who entered an American classroom without a word of English and with no previous schooling (no

nursery school, no Head Start, no kindergarten), I would be judged an "at risk" child by today's standards. There was no special program for immigrant children, no trained teacher of English as a Second Language, no special textbooks, and no sensitive, caring speaker of my native language on the school staff. Yet, I learned to read and write, do arithmetic and other school subjects in English so well that within two years I was moved ahead--"skipped"--a grade. My parents had each had four years of formal schooling and our family lived in severe poverty, conditions that are considered to contribute to school failure. If I could learn English and make a success of my schooling with no special help at school or at home, is it not reasonable to believe that today's immigrant/ migrant/refugee children have a fairly decent chance of doing the same, given the wide assortment of special educational assistance available? It is my professional opinion that learning to read and learning subject matter in a second language can be routinely accomplished, most rapidly and advantageously by young students, provided the educational plan is seriously focused on these goals.

The Ramirez study (1991), which Rossell reviewed at length in 1992, is routinely cited by bilingual education advocates as the strongest research evidence for the effectiveness of native language teaching programs. Briefly, Ramirez et al. studied and compared student performance in early-exit transitional bilingual education classrooms, all-English structured immersion classrooms, and late-exit maintenance bilingual classrooms, with a national sample of 1,054 students. Although the study is judged by Rossell and Baker to be methodologically sound, its claims for the superiority of late-exit bilingual programs (6-7 years in native language classrooms) is not supported by the internal evidence. Students in the early-exit (three years) bilingual classrooms did better in reading (although not in language arts and math) than immersion students in the first two years, yet the advantage of bilingual instruction had disappeared by the end of four years of schooling when immersion students did better in language arts and there was no difference between programs in reading or math performance. (32)

The Ramirez study does not show support for the facilitation effect since it shows that students who stayed in bilingual classrooms the longest actually did the worst. (33) Nor does this study provide either a clear distinction between the three program models it described or make valid comparisons to support policy decisions, as was noted by the National Research Council (1992):

> Although the study's final report claims that the three programs represent three distinct instructional models, the findings indicate that the programs were not that distinct. They were essentially different versions of the same treatment: immersion and early-exit programs were in some instances

> indistinguishable from one another....The final designs of the longitudinal and immersion studies were ill-suited to answer the important policy questions that appear to have motivated them. (102-103)

Rossell and Baker's literature review, which will be published as Chapter 3 of a book titled *Bilingual Education Reform in Massachusetts*, arrives at a few well-supported conclusions. Classroom teachers with some knowledge of the student's native language are more effective than teachers who are fluent in that language, presumably because the teacher who is fluent in Spanish, for example, will be inclined to teach in that language most of the time while the teacher with only minimal skills in Spanish will use the language sparingly. A little native language teaching, when children just start school, is better than a lot. The teacher who was most successful in raising the English language achievement of Chinese students was one who taught 90 percent of the time in English, according to Fillmore. (1980) In Austin, Texas, the most successful bilingual program had teachers who used English as the medium of instruction 82 percent of the time. (35)

Rossell and Baker criticize my emphasis on the importance of time-on-task as the essential, though not the only, factor in effective second language learning. No argument put forward in this study convinces me otherwise. The reasons originally stated in the first edition of *Forked Tongue* (83, 119, 125, 243) still stand in light of my observations of classrooms and my readings of the past five years. Immersion in a second language does not mean "teaching" the language but giving students the means to use the language in social and academic classroom situations. Any program, whatever its label, that employs a trained teacher who uses interactive teaching techniques, visual aids, educational technology, or other means to promote second language acquisition through learning of school subjects, is going to produce superior results in the short and long run. I believe the New York study bears this out. If the classroom contains students from only one language background and the teacher knows that language and can, in the early weeks, give a little help in the native language, all well and good. However, native language support is not crucial.

The writers propose the following hypothesis for consideration: that a little native language teaching may be preferable to English immersion because it will give LEP students some time to learn in their native language until the English becomes "comprehensible" and their time-on-task will be effective time-on-task. This is a very weak argument for true bilingual programs require all instruction in the native language, not just a little bit for comfort. Once engaged in this type of program, students may not acquire the English skills for literacy and for academic learning for years. A recent personal experience illustrates this point.

I revisited the Armory Street School in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1994, the school where I had been a Spanish-English bilingual teacher from 1974-79. After observing fifth and sixth grade students, I talked with one of their teachers about the low level of English language skills. She said, "No, these kids have not just arrived from another country, they've been in the Springfield schools for several years. But I'm only allowed to give them 45 minutes a day of English. The tragedy is that these kids will go to junior high school next year and they still will not have the skills to be in mainstream classes." Springfield was one of the first school districts in Massachusetts to institute system-wide native language instruction programs for its LEP students. It is the classic example of how bilingual education, once firmly established, becomes a separate education track from which students do not easily escape. Bilingual education supporters have determinedly reiterated the necessity of giving LEP students many years of native language instruction and will reject the Rossell-Baker idea that just a little use of native language may be the wiser course.

A second idea advanced by Rossell and Baker is the "rest theory" of effective language learning. The "rest theory" seems to emerge from the studies on differences between massed versus spaced learning trials, that is, that subjects who were allowed interruptions for rest periods on repetitious tasks did better than subjects who had more practice but little or no rest. The Rossell/Baker idea is that teachers should switch to the native language from time to time to give students a rest. This theory reveals the enormous gap between the experience of the writers and that of actual classroom teachers of LEP students. Interactive, content-based language teaching does not consist of boring, repetitive drills, nor does it force children to spend all day studying grammar. Good teachers vary the pacing of activities to keep students interested and alert, and the various school-day activities afford opportunities for children to speak among themselves in any language they choose. As a former teacher and teacher supervisor, I find nothing of value in the "rest theory" for the education of limited-English students. Nor is there any documented evidence that young children will stay out of school because of the psychological strain of learning a new language.

There is a wealth of good material in the Rossell and Baker study, in spite of the wobbly theorizing, that will provide other researchers, educators and policy makers with hard data and solid analyses. Perhaps this book, when it is published by the Pioneer Institute in Boston in 1996, may promote the cause of bilingual education reform in Massachusetts.

THE LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS: THE GRASS ROOTS MOVEMENTS

The most promising development I have observed in bilingual education reform is the robust spirit in local school districts to question, reflect on, and finally reject the continuation of special programs that are not producing successful results for limited-English students. Independent teachers, school principals, superintendents and school board members in various cities across the country are braving the criticism of community activists and self-interested beneficiaries of the bilingual bureaucracy to reject the "facilitation hypothesis" now that it has been tested in their districts for years and produced less than affirmative results.

The message conveyed to me countless times in the past few years is typically this one: "We have been providing a transitional bilingual education program for 10, 12, 15 years, with instruction in the native language in all subjects including reading and writing, and some English lessons, with native language teachers and textbooks in the native language. We thought the students would be able to exit the program in three years or so with the skills necessary to work successfully in a mainstream classroom with English-speaking kids. But it isn't happening. Even after five or six years they have not learned enough English to speak, read, and write adequately. We're committed to spending the money but we must find a better way to educate these children. Can you help us?"

One School in Massachusetts

In the fall of 1990, Frank Moriarty, principal of the Peter W. Reilly School in Lowell, Massachusetts, called me with exactly the complaint described above. The working class city of Lowell is home to the second largest Cambodian refugee population in the U.S. and to a large Puerto Rican community as well. The Reilly School had been implementing a Spanish bilingual program for students in kindergarten to sixth grade for five years. Mr. Moriarty and his teaching staff were troubled both by the poor results in student achievement in acquiring English language skills and in learning school subjects and by the segregative nature of their classrooms, the Puerto Rican students substantially separated from their English-speaking classmates, most of the school day. But what they found particularly disappointing was the fact that they were following the exact guidelines defined by the Lowell Bilingual Department and yet seeing nothing resembling the anticipated rapid second language learning or easy transfer of knowledge from the first to the second language.

I met with the entire school staff for a general discussion of their views on problem areas, visited classrooms to observe teaching strategies, reviewed the textbooks being used, and spent time in informal interviews with the bilingual and ESL teachers in order to discern their particular concerns. Interestingly, the bilingual and ESL teachers expressed two major anxieties: first, that the approach they had

been using with these students was not working and definitely needed changing, and second, that they would lose their jobs if the program were revised. Mr. Moriarty reassured the staff that their jobs were secure, that he was confident that each teacher currently in his school--with some additional training--would provide competent instruction in new ways, and that the professional staff would be involved in the redesigning of the school program for limited-English students.

In early 1991, a plan was developed for the following school year that would include revising the kindergarten and first grade curriculum to emphasize an English immersion approach with some use of Spanish, especially in the early months of school, for facilitating understanding of new concepts. All teachers at these grade levels were to participate in workshops on immersion techniques, content-based language teaching, and curriculum writing. These necessary activities were to be extended to grades two, three and four in the second year of the plan and to grades five and six in the third year. Pre-testing and end-of-the-year testing on English language skills, classroom grades on school subjects, portfolios of classroom work, school attendance, and other data would be collected in order to chart student learning over time and assess the value of the new program.

In late August of 1991, with initial planning completed and the first staff workshop scheduled, Mr. Moriarty received instructions from the then Assistant Superintendent. He was told that funds would not be provided to make the changes that he had outlined and that the school district did not approve of his plan, partly, he later learned, because of the involvement of Rosalie Porter. It was a bitter disappointment for Mr. Moriarty who had hoped, before his retirement, to initiate a badly needed change of course in his school's inadequate teaching of limited-English students.

I called the Peter W. Reilly School on September 12, 1995, and talked with the current principal, Mr. Vennochi. When he described the instructional program for LEP students, he confirmed my suspicion that nothing had been allowed to change. Students in kindergarten and grade 1 are still placed in self-contained classrooms (all Spanish speakers together) where they are taught in Spanish 90% of the time, English 10% of the time, on the orders of the Lowell School Department. In the second grade, students are introduced to reading in English using the Ginn reading series and the principal said, in all seriousness, "It's very hard for these students to master reading in English because they haven't had very much preparation for it. And besides, they're still doing reading in Spanish and it becomes confusing for them. By the time these students reach grade 4, the use of English in the classroom increases." In spite of the fact that Reilly School 4th graders had among

the highest test scores in the city in most subjects, LEP students did not score nearly as well as their peers in the mainstream classrooms. Since these students received the extraordinary services of the bilingual program for 5 years--from day one of kindergarten--and they clearly had not yet learned English or their school subjects well enough, it is not unreasonable to conclude that this approach is failing the students. Yet school principal Vennochi felt duty bound, despite the evidence of his own students' lack of achievement, to pay lip service to the prevailing orthodoxy that is strongly promoted in the Lowell Public Schools about the benefits of native language instruction.

One Teacher in California

Not only are school administrators looking for new solutions for improving their teaching of language minority students, but teachers are eager to make changes in their own classrooms or, even more ambitiously, in their school districts. Dozens of individual teachers across the country have appealed to me directly or to READ for information on research, successful programs and teaching methods. We have responded with various types of information and services to parents, teachers, and administrators in these localities: Los Angeles, Montclair-Ontario, Salinas, San Marcos, San Rafael, Santa Ana, and Westminster, California; Providence, Rhode Island; Mathis and Houston, Texas; Chelsea, Holyoke, Randolph, and Southbridge, Massachusetts; Atlantic City and Bay City, New Jersey; Dearborn, Michigan.

Teachers who are feeling dismay and frustration are beginning to take action. One moving and courageous example is Suzanne Guerrero from Salinas, California. Suzanne Guerrero, an elementary school teacher of LEP students in the Salinas City School District, called me a year ago to ask for advice and information on how to present her arguments for changing the bilingual program in her district. Suzanne related her total disillusion with native language teaching as a means of giving Latino students an appropriate education. She is Mexican-American and proud of her language and culture, but fourteen years as a bilingual teacher have convinced her that the approach is not only ineffective but harmful to her students.

What distinguishes Suzanne from the dozens of others I have corresponded with or talked to is that she is willing to go public with her discontent. Most teachers who are critical of bilingual programs are very reluctant to take a public stand and invite the inevitable personal attacks. Suzanne is a tenured, senior staff member in the Salinas schools and she knows that she cannot be fired for expressing her opinions. And that is exactly what Suzanne is doing. She is distributing articles and books to teachers and organizing group meetings to discuss the readings, in the face of a generally hostile response. Most recently Suzanne published an outspoken article in

her local teachers' union newsletter. Here are a few electrifying quotes from Suzanne's article in *The Voice* of May 1995 in which she responds to an earlier essay calling for salary stipends for bilingual teachers and complaining of racism in the community:

> I am a bilingual teacher (and have been one for 14 years in this district) and certainly do not agree with you. Where is your proof, your evidence, to back up your accusations of racism? I have not experienced any racism toward myself. I am an American of Mexican heritage. Am I also racist because I oppose bilingual education--after personally observing that it just is not working? Definitely not!
>
> ...This is not a racial issue. In your article, you allude to the "research which clearly shows that students perform better when educated in a language they understand..." Nowhere has this been proven. In fact, the sooner a child begins to learn a second language, the more rapidly and effectively he will acquire that language for social purposes and academic learning. Also, the human brain acquires language more easily the younger a child is. There is no sound reason to delay the learning of English.

One School District in Pennsylvania

The Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, English Acquisition Program was the subject of a lengthy article in the Fall 1995 issue of *READ Perspectives,* Vol. II-2, by Professors Judy Simons-Turner and Mark Connelly of St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia, and Ann Goldberg, coordinator of the English Acquisition Program in Bethlehem. For the reader who is interested in a very detailed, descriptive analysis, the above article is highly recommended. It is important to provide a brief review here because this is one of the few school districts that has made substantial changes in its education program for LEP children in a well-planned, successful manner, enlisting the support of the Puerto Rican community and the bilingual teaching staff.

The Bethlehem Area School District encompasses five municipalities with 13,000 students of whom 1300 are limited-English students, the majority of whom are native speakers of Spanish. In early 1992 the school superintendent, Thomas J. Doluisio, asked for my advice in remodeling the traditional bilingual education program then in place. Dr. Doluisio voiced the frustration and disappointment that are not uncommon when a well-meant effort fails. The Bethlehem district had implemented a native language program of instruction for over ten years, with competent bilingual teachers following the classic model; students were bused to bilingual schools to make up entire classrooms of Spanish speakers. However, these special efforts had not achieved salutary results.

Because Pennsylvania does not have a state law requiring bilingual programs, Dr. Doluisio did not need to defy state law in order to change his program. He did, however, have to confront the bilingual community and the bilingual professional staff in his school district. Apparently Dr. Doluisio was up to the task, slowly but surely winning acceptance for initiating what the district labels its English Acquisition Program. As I was leaving the country for a year, I referred the Bethlehem administrators to Dr. Esther Eisenhower for professional guidance. Dr. Eisenhower assisted in the curriculum revision and staff training and arranged for Bethlehem teachers to visit ESL classrooms in the Fairfax County Public Schools, home to one of the largest and most respected ESL programs in the country. One year of planning and preparation, public relations efforts in the community, and retraining and reassuring of staff in the school district, paved the way for the English Acquisition Program that started in September 1993.

The Board of School Directors stated the goal of the new program: "to have all limited-English-proficient students become fluent in English in the shortest amount of time so they may experience maximum success in school." (Bethlehem Plan, 1993) The crucial changes defined by the planning committee of 30 teachers and administrators and firmly established since the opening of schools in September 1993 are the following:

- limited-English students will no longer be bused to other schools for native language instruction but will be educated in their neighborhood schools, with few exceptions

- language minority students will be tested for English language skills on entering the Bethlehem schools; all LEP students will be classified as beginner, intermediate or advanced level English learners, or as fully fluent in English and needing no special language services

- all LEP students will be heterogeneously grouped with native English speakers in regular classrooms, and will be taught all school subjects in English through an adapted, regular school curriculum

- progress in oral proficiency, reading and writing in English will be assessed twice yearly

- special approaches for LEP students include a literature based reading program, writing workshop, 75 minutes daily of ESL instruction for beginner level students, and additional tutorial support, when needed

- middle school and high school students are assigned to their neighborhood schools and receive 2 periods daily of ESL instead of regular language arts; are

integrated into regular math, social studies, and science classes; are given tutorial help, if needed, and may also participate in a daily after school program for extra help

- high school students have access to a mentor program which provides extra, one-on-one assistance when needed.

In the fall of 1994, after the English Acquisition Program had been in place for one school year, Turner and Goldberg administered two surveys, one addressed to teachers and administrators in the Bethlehem Area School District, and one (printed in English and Spanish) to the parents of students enrolled in the program. The goal of the surveys was twofold: to obtain a general indication of the degree to which the program was supported by school staff and parents, and to gain information on the strengths and weaknesses of the program and specific recommendations for improvements. (Turner, 1994)

An analysis of the survey directed at teachers and administrators highlighted the following results to the Board of School Directors:

- 39% said all or most students made substantial progress towards the main goal of the program; 23% said more than half the students made substantial progress

- 50% of respondents viewed the new program positively, 44% gave it a mixed response, while only 4% registered a negative reaction

- 83% said they anticipate the average LEP student to learn English well enough for social purposes in 1-3 years, while 53% said it would take an average of 1-3 years to learn English well for academic success in the classroom

Turner adds a cautionary note on the question of number of years for English language acquisition, "It should be recognized that these responses are based...not only on the first year results of the English Acquisition Program but on the years in which some of the teachers worked in the former bilingual program. ...it will be important to survey staff again in 3-4 years to determine if their response to this question has changed." (Turner, 3)

The teachers strongly recommended a reduction in class sizes systemwide, not only in the English Acquisition Program, and an increase in teacher training, ideally through the services of a long-term training consultant who would give a needed continuity to the program's efforts.

An analysis of the 276 responses to the parent survey produced the following conclusions:

- 81% of parents felt their child progressed well academically during the first year of the new program

- 82% of parents rated the program as good to very good

- 12% of parents reported their child's having academic problems during the year; 81% said they visited the school during the year while 53% said they had a conference with the teacher.

Parents' recommendations for improvements focused mainly on more opportunities for English language learning including after school tutorials, a summer program, and more homework. A number of respondents suggested that English classes be offered to parents and that more information be sent home by the schools.

Turner notes at the end of the report that the high level of acceptance for the English Acquisition Program among teachers, administrators and parents may be credited to the careful planning and sensitivity of the administration. The evidence of positive attitudes developing in one year is particularly impressive considering the negative publicity in the community and the reluctant reception from teachers preceding the introduction of the program. Professor Turner recommended that a longitudinal study be conducted over a period of several years to collect and analyze data on student achievement, and that a descriptive account of successful teaching strategies, materials, and training be maintained.

In June 1995 a brief report on the achievement of all limited-English students, K-12, in the English Acquisition Program showed the following gains:

- 29% of those students classified "Beginners" at the beginning of the school year had moved to the "Intermediate" level by June

- 12% moved from "Intermediate" to "Advanced"

- 46% moved from "Advanced" level to exit from the program.

These classifications of English language proficiency are based on a carefully defined set of competencies that Bethlehem has developed as well as on testing and teacher evaluations. Considering the current state of the art in second language

assessment, the Bethlehem standards are surprisingly good as compared to those of the numerous school districts which I have studied.

Much more data must be collected, analyzed and reported by the Bethlehem Area School District in order for it to substantiate any claims of success for this program. In the next few years, it will be possible to chart the achievement of students who entered the English Acquisition Program in kindergarten as limited-English speakers and determine how many years they were enrolled before mainstreaming. Were these students successful in the regular classroom after exiting the program? Were they referred for special remedial services at a higher rate than native English speakers (Special Education, Title 1, etc.)? Are they dropping out of school before high school completion at higher rates than other groups? When they graduate from high school, how many are going on to higher education? Bethlehem does not have a control group receiving a different treatment with which to compare the achievement of students in the English Acquisition Program. However, it would be of some value to dig back in the earlier records on Bethlehem students who participated in the former bilingual program to compare outcomes, if those records are still available.

One Law Suit Against the Seattle School District

The Seattle, Washington, School District educates 45,000 students in its public schools, of whom 6,000 are limited-English proficient and represent 90 different language backgrounds. Three fourths of the LEP students are Asian. As in many other urban school districts, the number of limited-English students swelled suddenly in the 1980s and the number of different languages and ethnic groups increased also. To accommodate this multicultural, heterolingual population of students and to remove the language barrier to an equal education, the school system tried a number of approaches, from a program focused largely on native language instruction to an intensive English language teaching effort, with various intermediate modifications. A review of the district's published documents, coupled with the private observations of school personnel, made clear the rationale for Seattle's current approach. Because the district cannot implement a dual language program for every LEP student, it would be unfair and potentially divisive to do it only for some.

Other problems with largely native language instruction that were recognized in Seattle are the higher cost and the loss of flexibility in staffing. More bilingual teachers have to be hired who can only work with students from one language background; native language materials must be purchased in several languages, for materials are not currently available in multiple languages. In the end, this type of program would be segregative and unfair to some students. Seattle school board policy was to establish a program that meets the needs of LEP students and helps them to assimilate.

In the early 1990s the district, which is divided into regions, prepared to initiate a system of school-based management that would give each school the autonomy to plan its own schedule, methods of instruction, classroom organization, and strategies for meeting the needs of special students (limited-English, low achievers, gifted and talented, disabled, pre-literate, etc.). The decision-making would rest not with a central administration but with the school staff, principal, and parents. The central administration essentially gave each school free rein with regard to how it would use its budget but with the proviso that the school would be accountable for the achievement of its students.

In the 1993 school year, the Seattle district employed 230 qualified bilingual/ESL teachers and assistant teachers, plus 40 bilingual tutors. The district developed teacher preparation programs jointly with local colleges and universities, giving staff members the opportunity to take courses leading to an undergraduate degree in education, at district expense. It was anticipated that bilingual paraprofessionals would take these opportunities and become teachers in the Seattle schools on completing their degree requirements. Seattle has also invested in recruiting efforts to find qualified personnel to teach limited-English students.

Since 1992, a new inclusive approach called the "blended model" has been pioneered in several Seattle elementary schools, a coordinated approach that holds special promise for limited-English students. Concern for the long-term segregation of language minority students and loss of confidence in the bilingual approach of native language instruction, coinciding with the school-based management opportunity, led to the development of this new model. In essence, the elementary school assigns all students to regular classrooms, carefully controlling for an appropriate mixture in each. For example, of 22 students in a second grade classroom, 5 may be limited-English, 2 may have learning disabilities, and 5 may be low achievers in reading or math (Title 1 is the federal program of remedial instruction in these subjects for children from low income families). In addition to a regular elementary teacher, each classroom has a full- or part-time teacher who may be a Special Education, Title 1, bilingual, or ESL specialist. The central administration invested in the cross-training of the various specialist teachers so that they have some understanding of each other's specialties, and provided the funds for reducing class size in the schools implementing the blended model. Seattle has other innovative programs such as the Bilingual Orientation Center which provides intensive English language classes and remedial academic work for students of high school age who arrive in Seattle with little or no English and, in some cases, with little or no formal education in their native land.

In September 1993 Evergreen Legal Services, a public advocacy firm, brought a suit against the Seattle School District and the State of Washington in King County Superior Court on behalf of Sang Van et al. and the class of all Limited English Proficient students and their guardians. A number of complaints were alleged in the law suit: the lack of credentialed native language teachers, the assignment of LEP students to particular schools, the location of bilingual program schools, the lack of sufficient materials in the native languages of the students, and other related problems. The applicable law in Washington state, Chapter 28 A 180, revised in 1982, requires transitional bilingual education programs when there are sufficient numbers of LEP students from the same language background, or, where use of two languages is not practicable, as established by the school superintendent, an alternative system such as ESL may be used. The Seattle district not only maintained that the variety of native languages and the district's desegregation goals made it impractical to do a full-time native language program but that students were better served in non-segregated settings with a special English language program supported by the use of the native language, whenever necessary and if feasible, for clarification.

Seattle has, in fact, achieved demonstrable success for limited-English students in recent years. The dropout rate for LEP students is lower than for other students, system-wide. In the three school years from 1990 to 1993, the dropout rate for LEP students averaged 10.9% while the dropout rate for the rest of the district averaged 16.2%. (Seattle, 1993) A comparison of the numbers of high school graduates for the same 3-year period follows:

Table 3.
High School Graduates - Bilingual vs. Overall District
Seattle Public Schools

		Number of Graduates	Average Senior Enrollment	Graduation Percent
1990-91:	Bilingual	210	249	84.3%
	Overall	1954	2470	79.1%
1991-92:	Bilingual	267	316	84.5%
	Overall	1982	2498	79.3%
1992-93:	Bilingual	300	367	81.7%
	Overall	2153	2633	81.8%

(Seattle School District, 1993)

One additional indicator that the progress of limited-English students compares favorably with other groups in the district is the November 1993 Data Profile which reports on the rate of students who are enrolled in Special Education programs. The district average is 9.4%, while the enrollment for Asian students who make up one-fourth of the student body and three-fourths of the LEP students is 4.1%. Nationally, higher percentages of LEP students than other groups are erroneously placed in Special Education programs, not because of true learning disabilities but due to the temporary condition of being limited in their knowledge of the English language. Clearly, the Seattle district is not making that mistake.

Nevertheless, Evergreen Legal Services brought a class action suit against the Seattle School District. I strongly suspect that the suit was concerned less with the particular complaints of the plaintiffs than with an opportunity to use Seattle as a test case to force the city and other school districts in Washington to put in heavy-duty bilingual education programs with native language instruction in all subjects, most of the school day, for several years. The district decided to fight for what it believed to be in the best interests of its students. As an expert witness on behalf of the Seattle district, I reviewed school documents, visited half a dozen schools, observed classrooms, interviewed teachers and administrators, and prepared to testify in court, along with other experts.

On April 18, 1995, a settlement agreement was signed by all parties to this suit which set forth in detail the way in which the district will meet its legal obligations to LEP students, with regard to monitoring achievement of students, recruitment and staff training, curriculum development, and other program features. This settlement does not essentially change the Seattle district's education policies or practices. Plaintiffs' attorneys did not succeed in forcing the district into engaging in more native language teaching than it now provides. The settlement is a victory for the Seattle district and for its right to continue to give a range of different educational services to the limited-English students who are benefiting from this integrated, effective program. Seattle provides a wonderful example of sanity and strength prevailing against the threat of unreasonable demands. This case should give courage to other school districts facing similar threats.

Revisiting Newton, Massachusetts

The special program for limited-English students which I directed from 1980-90 in the Newton, Massachusetts, Public Schools is fully described in Chapter 5 of *Forked Tongue,* pp. 126-141. Newton continues to enjoy its reputation as one of the most prestigious public school districts in the United States, both for the high quality of student achievement and for its commitment to high performance by

racial and language minority students. It is worthwhile to describe some of the subtle changes that have occurred in the Newton Bilingual/ESL Program and the new approaches this exemplary district can offer.

Before revisiting the Newton program of today, it is important to answer one criticism about Newton that has been levelled at *Forked Tongue.* It has been stated by the research team of Rossell and Baker that there is no evidence for the claim that the Newton program produces successful outcomes in student achievement, both in rapid English language acquisition and in mastery of school subjects. A little history is in order. In 1985 when Newton received some negative media attention for being out of compliance with Massachusetts bilingual law--not for lack of student achievement but for lack of teaching in the native language--Rossell wrote to Dr. John M. Strand, then Newton school superintendent, and offered to do an evaluation of our program for a research project. I met with Rossell and we explored the possibility, but several problems did not allow us to proceed.

My office collected sufficient data on our population of limited-English students: demographics, academic performance, pre- and post-testing, reading test scores, dropout rates, high school graduation rates, participation in extra-curricular activities. However, we had no control group of similar LEP students receiving a different program in the same school district. In fact, Rossell found that there was no bilingual program in Massachusetts that could be fairly compared with Newton's for a valid study. In pure research terms, Newton could not be the subject of a methodologically acceptable study because we had no comparison group and no random assignment. I must emphasize that neither of these conditions is possible under Massachusetts state law (Chapter 71-A) which requires that no LEP child who is eligible for the services of a transitional bilingual education program be denied those services for any reason, and certainly not for a research study. English as a Second Language or English immersion (the Newton model) programs are neither officially sanctioned nor funded in Massachusetts. Newton routinely reported more data to the Commonwealth Department of Education than was called for because we were eager to show that the Newton alternative model works. The fact that neither Baker nor Rossell has reviewed the Newton data does not prove that Newton does not maintain documented evidence of student success.

Under the direction of Jill McCarthy, program coordinator for the past five years, the Newton program has grown to approximately 500 LEP students from over 2 dozen language backgrounds. The major language groups are speakers of Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), Russian, Spanish, Japanese, and Hebrew, with growing populations of Koreans and of Portuguese speakers from Brazil. The Newton

School Committee continues to support the bilingual/ESL program with a handsome budget and good staffing levels, and to emphasize a policy of respect for the rich diversity of languages and cultures in its school community.

More emphasis is placed on the use of the native language in the elementary school program than was the case several years ago and on native language support for academic learning in the middle schools and high schools. When pressed to explain just how classically "bilingual" this program has become, McCarthy notes that it is not a traditional bilingual program in the true sense of the word. For example, the Chinese LEP students are not learning to read and write first in Mandarin and are not taught all their school subjects in the native language first. In fact, it appears the differences between the Newton program of 1990 and today are differences in degree and not in kind. McCarthy has refined and improved the program even further since 1990, with increased attention to teacher training, curriculum development, emphasis on content-based language teaching, and flexibility in meeting the needs of such a varied group of students. As she put it when I asked if the LEP students still represented a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds, "Our students run the gamut from the highly educated student from Russia who has had several years of English but needs to master the American idiom and pronunciation to the underschooled, 15-year old Afghan mail-order bride who has never learned a word of English, and everything in between."

McCarthy is introducing a number of innovations designed to enhance the opportunities for LEP students to maintain their first language and for native English speakers to begin learning another language early. In the middle school, a Russian language and culture elective course and a Chinese language elective are offered for 8th graders: both classes enroll English-speakers with native speakers of those languages. A kindergarten through third grade Spanish language and culture project is in the planning stages and is anticipated to start within the year in six to nine elementary schools. McCarthy is working with the Newton Foreign Language Department to design a literature course in Russian for native speakers. These enrichment courses are valuable for native-born Newtonians and students new to the U.S. alike. But the rock bottom line for the limited-English students in Newton is the early and effective mastery of the English language for academic success and true inclusion in the school community, as it has always been.

According to McCarthy, it takes LEP students two years to achieve the goals of the program, on average, and to work successfully in a mainstream classroom. One piece of research that she has initiated is the collection of data, over the next 3-5 years, to compare the performance of students who are receiving some native lan-

> But the saddest part of all was that most needed to have the hearing translated for them. Yes, high school students--many of them in bilingual programs for years--couldn't understand what was being said. When a Weld administration spokesperson got up to explain the changes being requested, the students applauded his remarks. Moments later, following a brief translation by an accompanying teacher, they booed. (Boston Herald, 4/12/95, 29)

Once again, politicians reacted predictably, partly out of genuine ignorance of the issues and partly out of the cowardice that afflicts elected representatives when an organized interest group shows up in sizable numbers. In spite of testimony in support of the bill from Education Commissioner Robert Antonucci, Secretary of Education Piedad Robertson, and several academic experts, the House summarily voted against change by 124-30 on April 11. (Boston Globe, 4/12/95)

New Jersey Wins Two in '95

The New Jersey legislature voted for two changes in its bilingual education law in 1995, after a year and a half of intense debate. The background to these changes is interesting. For several years, the State Department of Education had granted waivers to local school districts that argued hardship in meeting full-time bilingual program requirements, allowing them to provide some other type of educational help rather than native language instruction. However, in August 1994 the state Attorney General declared the waivers illegal, announcing that all districts must provide full-time bilingual education, unless the law were changed. A number of bills were introduced, with Representative Raul "Rudy" Garcia leading the pro-bilingual camp and Senator Jack Ewing promoting the cause of bilingual education reform.

The first substantial reform bill, granting local program choice if it is justifiable based on local conditions and removing the legal mandate of full-time programs of native language instruction in every district in every language, was enacted in April 1995. On signing the bill, Governor Christine Whitman remarked, "The signing of the waiver bill (S.1474) provides a solution to an immediate and very serious problem. But I consider it only to be an interim measure. I believe that we must now achieve more comprehensive reform of the bilingual education law." (Newark Star Ledger, 4/1/95)

On December 15, 1995, an even more significant measure won approval. The Parental Consent Bill was unanimously passed by the state Senate after winning approval months earlier in the Assembly. Up to this point, New Jersey had been the only state in which the parents of limited-English students did not have the right either to refuse to have their children placed in a bilingual program or to

guage instruction with those who are entirely immersed in the English language program. These groups are split evenly in grades K-6, about 50% in each type of program. The results of this research will add some useful information to the small pool of reliable research in this field.

LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES

Bilingual Education reform has been the focus of relentless activity in California, Massachusetts and New Jersey, with very mixed results, while bills to modify or eliminate bilingual education entirely at the federal level were debated in the fall 1995 session of the U.S. Congress and, in some cases, acted on in early 1996.

Massachusetts Strikes Out--Again

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has seen the introduction of a succession of bills to reform the restrictive state law, Chapter 71-A. Every year since 1986, one or another of these bills has enjoyed a brief moment of public attention, followed by a public hearing at the State House and a hasty vote sending it to oblivion. On January 25, 1995, *An Act Relative to Bilingual Education* was submitted to the legislature by Governor William Weld which included these crucial improvements:

- local choice in program options (TBE, ESL, Two-Way Bilingual, Structured English Immersion)
- informed parental consent before enrolling students in special programs
- district accountability for monitoring and reporting student achievement
- bilingual teacher qualifications requiring fluency and literacy in English as well as another language.

Since the bill had been introduced by the governor, there was reasonable expectation of a successful outcome. Yet, when the hearing on this bill was held on March 30th, the same old scenario of previous years was staged--hundreds of school children were taken out of school and brought to the State House to "demonstrate" against any changes in bilingual education, many of them young students in the primary grades who had no idea why they were there. A reporter for the Boston Herald reported a grim irony on the current state of bilingual education:

> ...hundreds of students in bilingual programs turned out--in the middle of what would have been a school day, we might add--to attend the hearing and protest.

remove their children from bilingual classes for at least three years. The Parental Consent Bill gives parents the option to place their children in an alternative English language program, if they so desire, rather than having them automatically forced into programs where they are segregated by language and culture. Passage of this legislation owes a good deal to the efforts of Dr. Chiara Nappi of the Princeton Regional Board of Education who had argued for years that the New Jersey statute denied parents and children their civil rights. (Nappi, 10/12/94)

I strongly agree with the governor's statement on the need for comprehensive change. I contributed expert assistance in the review of these New Jersey initiatives and provided research materials to legislators, as I have done every year for ten years in Massachusetts. Although there is some measure of satisfaction in the passage of legal reforms, one can be only cautiously optimistic that many districts will be granted waivers. State Education Commissioner Leo Klagholz opposed the local choice legislation and his strong position in favor of native language programs could mean that the granting of waivers will be permitted in very few cases. Such has been the experience in California where, although the bilingual education law actually expired in 1987, only 20 of the 1000 school districts have permission to provide an alternative, English-language based program.

California - The Textbook Case

As mentioned earlier, the California Department of Education has pressured local districts to continue native language instruction programs even in the absence of a state law requiring such programs. This has been the continuing struggle for reform advocates in California: how to overcome an entrenched bureaucracy that dictates curriculum and testing standards to local districts and enforces its dictates through the power of public funds.

Two acts were drafted to change the education code in regard to bilingual education in 1995: Assembly Bill 955 (Member Knight) and Assembly Bill 1041 (Member Alpert). When I was invited to critique the two bills early in the year, bilingual education reform in California looked more promising than at any time since 1987. The basic provisions of either AB 955 or AB 1041 could make a major turnaround in the education of 1.2 million California school children--if enacted by the legislature and implemented by the State Department of Education.

In fact, enacting the legislation may be the easier part of the reform agenda. The harder part is crafting the bill carefully enough to keep the State Department of Education from thwarting the bill's purposes. It has not been possible so far to curb the power of this agency to intimidate school districts into providing

unwanted and ineffective programs by falsely invoking federal and civil rights strictures. Neither the Lau decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, nor federal laws on education and civil rights requires native language instruction--the stated intent is and always has been the removal of the language barrier to an equal education, by any sensible means.

AB 1041 had these crucial provisions:

- repeal of the 1976 Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act
- authorization by law of local program choice, so long as "it has as its goal the development of proficiency in English for each pupil..."
- strict accountability for student achievement
- parental notification and parental right to accept or reject placement of students in special programs.

AB 955 focused on these elements:

- denial of power to the Department of Education to dictate which method to use in teaching LEP students
- local responsibility in designing programs
- school district accountability for measuring student progress in English language learning and academic achievement
- 3-year limit on special programs for LEP students; other remedial services may be applied beyond that time
- funding provided to each district according to number of LEP students, not based on enrollment in a particular type of program.

After reviewing both bills, I believed that either one would make sorely needed changes in California. Alas, AB 1041 was handed over to the bilingual bureaucracy for comment in June and what emerged was an unrecognizable pastiche that would have ensured retention of the status quo. One outrageous provision of the revised bill was that any school district operating what is labelled an "innovative instructional services program" must demonstrate within a few years that at least 75% of the students are making adequate progress in English language development and academic achievement, comparable to their English-speaking peers. No such standard is held for bilingual programs! The revised AB 1041 could not muster support and was withdrawn. The Knight bill (AB 955) went into hibernation and was reintroduced in early 1996.

Why is state legislation necessary, in the absence of a bilingual education law? To eliminate the remnants of the expired 1976 Chacon-Moscone bill and to spell out in concrete terms what the rights and obligations of school districts, teachers, parents and students are, and what limits on the state education agency are in regard to special efforts for limited-English students.

The California Teachers' Association Urges Reform

One new and powerful ally has joined the bilingual education reform movement--the California Teachers' Association (CTA). For the first time, a teachers' union has withdrawn its unqualified support and is publicly attacking the abuses of bilingual education programs. "Bilingual debate gets sidetracked by self-interests," noted the union newsletter, *CTA Action,* in May 1995. Considering that teachers' unions, led by the National Education Association, have routinely paid lip service to bilingual education, one hopes that the CTA stance is truly a declaration of independence from doctrinaire positions and that other teachers' organizations will take note.

New Policy from California State Board of Education

On July 14, 1995, the California State Board of Education announced a new policy in educating language minority children. Two major changes are emphasized--more concern for results in student achievement than in teaching methods, and the removal of the "preference" for primary language instruction by allowing maximum flexibility to local districts to choose their own program. Both of these changes, if enforced, will lead to dramatic changes in the adoption of English language programs. The Superintendent of Public Instruction, Delaine Eastin, vows that her bilingual staff will be reorganized, if necessary, to fortify the department's commitment to local control. (L. A. Times, 7/14/95)

If Eastin's new policy is not enforced, threats of litigation against the State Department of Education are already being discussed in several cities. The Westminster district is applying for the option of providing an entirely English immersion program, for which permission has been granted to only 20 out of 1,000 California districts. This appeal could force the first test of the Education Department's commitment to change. (L.A. Times 7/14/95) Social changes seem to sweep across the country from west to east with California initiating and leading the movements. One hopes this particular reform effort will be sustained and will spread to other states.

Federal Initiatives

Until the fall 1994 election that swept in so many new congressmen, the Bilingual Education Act--Title VII--had suffered few serious budget reductions. The federal

budget for the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) rose to its highest level, $155 million in 1995, since its modest $7.5 million start in 1968. But the budget-balancing, cost-cutting ways of the new majority rescinded $38 million of the 1995 funds in August 1995, and Congress is in the process of reducing drastically the 1996 funding. From a budget of $195 million requested for 1996, the House appropriations bill passed in August reduces that amount to $53 million; the Senate bill proposed cutting the budget to $122 million. Differences in the two bills were to be resolved in conference.

One important amendment (S.1513/H.R.6) was added to the 1994 education appropriations bill by Senator Larry Pressler and passed in the Senate by a vote of 100-0. This amendment requires that bilingual teachers be fluent in English as well as in another language! That it would take a congressional action to make this clear must be amazing to people unfamiliar with the politics of bilingual education, who might well ask, "Doesn't bilingual mean two languages?" It is a documented fact that "bilingual" teachers in California, Texas and Massachusetts are sometimes native speakers of Spanish with little or no knowledge of English. Luis Fuentes, a professor at the University of Massachusetts School of Education in the 1970s actually stated in a seminar that "bilingual means Spanish"!

Efforts to modify, redirect or entirely dismantle bilingual education at the federal level have been in the works for years. A convergence of circumstances bodes well for this reform effort. The recent publication of new studies confirming poor results for bilingual programs, the increasing popularity of the concept of English as the official language of the U.S., the importance to immigrant children of learning English to enter the mainstream society, the mood of the new congress to cast a skeptical eye on social programs of dubious value, and the budget crunch--taken together, these factors spell change. Two legislative initiatives on bilingual education were introduced in October 1995, the King bill (H.R. 1005) and the Roth Bill (H.R. 739), both of which abolish the Office of Bilingual Education and bilingual voting ballots. Both bills are tied to the official English language movement, which is discussed in the next section.

Federal support for OBEMLA since 1968 has not been large in dollar amounts but has played an important role, symbolically, in legitimizing bilingual education. The disproportionate investment and the continual emphasis on native language instruction have had a strong impact on state legislation and local district implementation. Changing the course of the federal role in this area of public education to a neutral one or completely eliminating Washington's role in favor of state and

local control are the two extremes. Since change at the federal level is inevitable, the only uncertainty is the extent of the reform in the near future.

OFFICIAL ENGLISH MOVEMENT

The campaign to make English the official language of government in the U.S. has been aggressively waged in the past few years. In 1990 I reported that 16 states had official English laws (*Forked Tongue*, 207-220); since then five more have joined their ranks: Alabama, Arizona, Montana, New Hampshire, and South Dakota. A majority of voters approved the official English referendum in Maryland but it was vetoed by the governor. Official English campaigns are active at this time in Connecticut, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, largely through the efforts of U.S. English, the largest and best known organization connected with this issue.

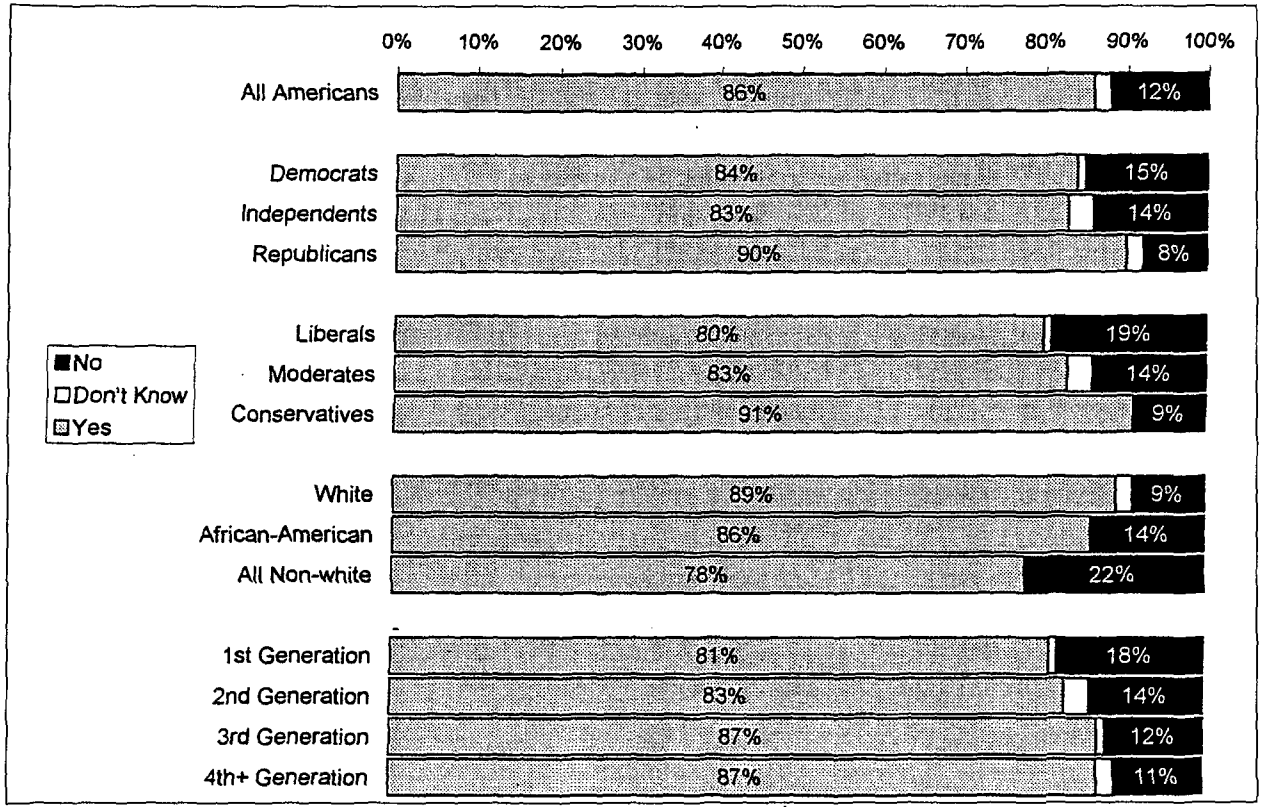
The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico voted Spanish its official language, arousing concerns that if Puerto Rico voted for statehood in the 1993 election, the U.S. would be in the delicate position of having one state out of 51 with an official language other than English (a situation not unlike Canada vis-à-vis Quebec). The issue was nullified when the citizens of Puerto Rico voted in favor of retaining commonwealth status.

To most people, the very idea that English is not already the official language of this country is shocking. State referenda on the language issue consistently receive overwhelmingly high voter support, even in states like California (73%) and Florida (84%) which have the highest proportions of new immigrants in the country and where the ballots are printed in several languages. Surveys conducted in thirteen states by U.S. English between 1993 and 1995 reported positive support averaging around 81%, from a high of 91% in Oklahoma to 71% in Wisconsin. Tables 4 and 5 provide two representations of the attitudes across the United States on the official language issue.

Table 4 - U.S.ENGLISH/LUNTZ SURVEY RESULTS

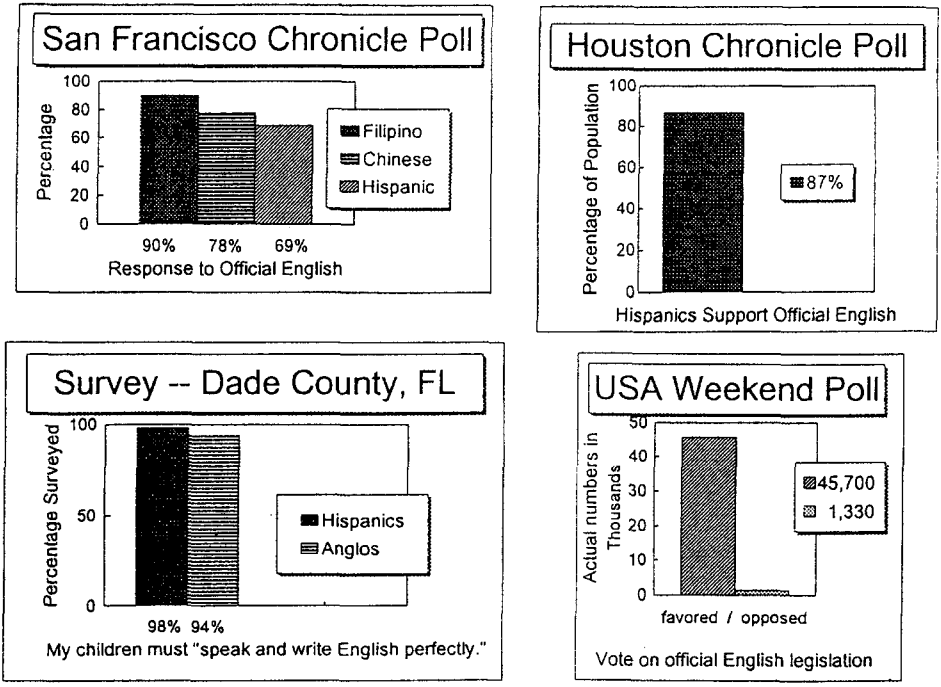
Interviewers at the Luntz Research Companies asked 1,208 Americans:

"Do you think English should be made the official language of the United States?"



**Survey was taken between August 2-6, 1995. Margin of error is plus or minus 2.8 percentage points. Copyright (c) 1995 by U.S. ENGLISH, Inc.*

Table 5
America on Official English: Recent Surveys



(Reprint permission for Table 5 is granted by English First, Springfield, Virginia)

Federal Activity

At the federal level, the introduction of Official English legislation or an English Language Amendment elicited a ho-hum reaction in the 1980s, but with the 1994 changes in the make-up of congress the outlook for positive action has improved considerably. Politicians have been way behind the curve on this issue, in spite of the high voter support in state after state for Official English. Suddenly, the two most powerful congressional leaders have dared to take public positions--Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich in his book, *To Renew America*, and Senate Majority Leader and presidential candidate Robert Dole in a significant speech (September 5, 1995). Dole emphasized the importance of a common language, "English is the language in which we still speak to each other across the frontiers of culture and race....[Ensuring] that all our citizens are fluent in English is a welcoming act of inclusion." (Washington Post, 9/12/95) He called for making English language classes available to new immigrants of all ages, a positive suggestion which is almost never mentioned. Furthermore, Dole went on to criticize bilingual education, stating that "fluency in English should be a central educational goal of every state" and that multilingual education should be abandoned, "not employed as a means of instilling ethnic pride or as therapy for low self-esteem." (Washington Post)

The official language issue and bilingual education may very well be among the debating points in a presidential election campaign, for the first time, in 1996.

Three bills were introduced in the House of Representatives for hearings in the October session, and the main provisions of each is described in the chart that follows:

Table 6
Official English Legislation 1995: A Side-By-Side Comparison

Rep. Bill Emerson (R-Mo.)	**Rep. Toby Roth (R-Wis.)**	**Rep. Pete King (R-N.Y.)**
The Language of Government Act of 1995: **H.R. 123** -- A bill to amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the government of the U.S. (Introduced 1/4/95)	***Declaration of Official Language Act of 1995:*** **H.R. 739** -- A bill to amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the government of the U.S. (Introduced 1/30/95)	***National Language Act of 1995:*** **H.R. 1005** -- A bill to amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the U.S., and for other purposes. (Introduced 2/21/95)
194 Co-sponsors	**94 Co-sponsors**	**36 Co-sponsors**
■ **EXEMPTIONS:** Use of languages other than English for public health and safety, foreign language instruction, judicial proceedings, and tourism.	■ **EXEMPTIONS:** Religion, training in foreign languages for international communication, and use of non-English terms of art in government documents.	■ **EXEMPTIONS:** Religion, training in foreign languages for communication programs designed to encourage students to learn foreign languages, and persons over 62 years of age.
■ **DOESNOT:** Infringe on individual rights, nor does it prevent the use of languages other than English outside the government.	■ **ABOLISHES:** Bilingual education and bilingual ballots.	■ **ABOLISHES:** Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs, and bilingual ballots.
■ **REQUIRES:** English be the sole language used to declare policies, write laws and regulations, and make and enforce official acts.	■ **REQUIRES:** -- Government promote use of English for communications among U.S. citizens (implies private sector); -- Communications by officers and employees of U.S. government with U.S. citizens be in English; -- All naturalization ceremonies be conducted solely in English; and -- Government to enforce English proficiency standard for immigration.	■ **REQUIRES:** -- All citizenship ceremonies be conducted in English; -- Federal documents and publications be printed only in English; and -- Recaptured funds (granted under Bilingual Education Act and not yet expended before enactment of Act) be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.
■ **RECOMMENDS:** Savings derived by the Federal government from enactment of this act be used to teach English to non-English proficient individuals.		

(Reprint permission is granted by U.S. English, Washington, DC)

Hearings were held on the three bills in the fall 1995 session of the U.S. House of Representatives on October 18th and November 1st by the Early Childhood, Youth and Families Subcommittee of the House Economic and Education Opportunities Committee. The first hearing was geared toward learning about the issue itself and did not focus on any one bill in particular, with testimony given only by Members of Congress. The second hearing had the same focus, but invited testimony from the general public: several speakers, including the Chairman of the Board of U.S.English, Mauro E. Mujica, and Linda Chavez, President of the Center for Equal Opportunity, spoke in favor of a common language; Edward Chen of the American Civil Liberties Union spoke against it.

On December 6th the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee held a public hearing on S. 356, the companion bill to H.R. 123 of Rep. Emerson. This is the only common language bill currently before the Senate. Several legislators testified for the bill, including Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL), the sponsor, and Representative Toby Roth (R-WI), as did a number of citizens. Although opponents had been invited to testify, they chose not to do so.

One additional bill was heard in January 1996, H.R. 351 sponsored by Representative John Porter (R-IL), the "Bilingual Voting Requirements Repeal Act of 1995." This bill amends the Voting Rights Act of 1975 which requires voting information and ballots to be printed in another language if there are sufficient voters in one county of the same language classification (5%) who request it. Aside from the question of why bilingual ballots are necessary, given the fact that non-native-born persons must live in the U.S. for five years and demonstrate basic knowledge of English before becoming voting citizens, there are other serious problems with this enterprise.

The costs of providing bilingual ballots are quite high: for example, in the 1992 election, the city of Los Angeles spent $125,250 on bilingual voting materials that were used by 927 people. The city budgeted an additional $297,000 for the 1994 election in order to print ballots in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Spanish, Tagalog and Korean. In Hawaii, a state which has two official languages--Hawaiian and English--translation of voting materials in one election in 1992 cost the state $40,000. Two voters used the materials in the primary, and two in the general election, perhaps the same two. (Eng. First document, 1995) The other large problem is the accuracy of translations. In a 1993 election in New York City, it was reported that "the city erroneously printed the Chinese character for 'no' as a translation for the word 'yes'" on one set of ballots. (NY Times, 8/14/94)

The Players

The activist organizations generating the various efforts to make English the official language of government in the U.S. are independent and feisty about their own

turf. U.S. English, under the recent leadership of Chilean immigrant, Mauro Mujica, reports a growing membership of 600,000, and invests heavily in promoting state referenda and federal legislation. Mujica's organization takes the most moderate stand on bilingual education, advocating strongly for local choice in English language programs and for reforming bilingual education at the state and federal levels. His organization supports the Emerson bill on official English which does not mention bilingual education, stating that "it is easier to pass legislation with one goal rather than several--that is why the Emerson bill has a better future and has gathered 182 co-signers." (Personal communication, 9/11/95).

English First, the other national organization involved in the official language movement, concentrates its efforts in the area of federal legislation. Their main goal, in addition to establishing official English legislation, is abolishing bilingual education. The director, Jim Boulet, was quoted in the Washington Times (7/9/95) as saying, "[the Emerson bill] doesn't do anything. It takes as much work to pass a bad bill as it does to pass a good bill, and you need one that really solves the problem."

In California, Stanley Diamond heads an organization called California English Advocates whose activities are concentrated on legislative and bureaucratic change to reform bilingual education in that state.

Arizonans for Official English, headed by Robert Park, waged a successful campaign to win voter support in a state referendum in 1988, only to have the law challenged, within hours after the election, in a major court case, Yniguez v. Arizonans for Official English. Mr. Park is the leading activist in the newly constituted English Language Advocates, an organization mainly concerned with supporting an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court in the Yniguez case.

Courts Consider Challenges to English

Although there have been many court cases related to official English in recent years, two that have had the greatest impact on the movement are the Spun Steak case and the Yniguez case.

In 1990, the Spun Steak Company in San Francisco, California, established a work rule banning on-the-job conversation in languages other than English. Shortly thereafter, a group of workers filed a federal civil rights suit, and an injunction preventing the company from implementing the rule was imposed. A federal appeals court ruled in 1993 that the decision did not violate the civil rights of bilingual or Hispanic workers. This decision was then appealed by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunities Commission on behalf of the workers, but in 1994 the U.S. Supreme Court decided to let the lower court's ruling stand. It appears, then, that

in private enterprise, employers can require that English be spoken in the workplace, in the interests of communication and worker morale.

The suit against the State of Arizona brought on behalf of Maria-Kelly Yniguez alleged that the official English law of that state (voted by referendum in 1988) violated her First and Fourteenth Amendment rights. Ms. Yniguez was a first-year law student in 1988, employed by the State to evaluate medical claims against it. She had authority to settle claims of less than $10,000. Although competent in both English and Spanish, Yniguez would draft official documents in Spanish and knowingly admitted that her supervisor would not be able to read them. Her response, when asked why she did this was, "It's a solidarity thing." She claimed she could express some elements of malpractice claims in Spanish which are impossible in English. Yniguez noted that inexpressible concepts include her cultural heritage as a Hispanic, the sense of community and experiences shared by Hispanics, "and other feelings." (R. Park document, 1995)

In 1990 the federal court in Arizona found in her favor, ruling that she had a First Amendment right to use Spanish in her government agency work, knowing that neither her supervisor nor the auditing agency could read it. The governor of Arizona declined to appeal the decision. At that point, Robert Park, since he was the nominal head of the group that had mounted the Arizona English campaign, petitioned the court for standing to appeal the decision. His petition was denied there, but he took his case to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals which agreed to hear an appeal.

What Park is appealing is a set of new rights defined by the Arizona court that have never been in the U.S. Constitution: (1) that the choice of which language state employees choose to use in their workplace is protected by the First Amendment, (2) that governmental services must be provided in any other language if it is "normal" and the claimants wish it, (3) and that non-English-speaking persons have a right to "receive" government information in a language other than English.

As the Ninth District Court of Appeals covers a jurisdiction including Hawaii, Alaska, Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Montana and Guam, the ruling in this case affects a wide area of the country. But its impact will go beyond the geographic area as it has relevance for challenges to the use of English for government purposes in all states and, therefore, to the legality of the official English laws in 22 states. The Ninth District Court of Appeals voted to hear this case *en banc,* that is, before a panel of eleven judges (out of 8,000 cases heard in 1994, only a dozen were selected for *en banc* hearings). It was heard on July 20, 1995 and the decision was announced on October 5: by a 6-5 split deci-

sion the court ruled in favor of Yniguez, declaring Article XXVIII of the Arizona constitution (official English law) to be illegal. Judge Stephen Reinhardt, writing for the majority, concluded that Arizona's official language law violated a government employee's First Amendment right of free speech by preventing the employee from writing government documents in any language he or she preferred. Judge Alex Kozinski, in a minority opinion, commented on the broad new language rights conferred on government employees by this decision, "Almost everything government does involves a communication of some sort, and those charged with carrying out government functions sometimes disagree with what they are ordered to say or do... Today's decision [gives] bureaucrats the right to turn every policy disagreement into a federal lawsuit, arguing that their First Amendment free-speech rights take precedence." (National Review, 11/6/95)

This decision of the Ninth Circuit Court not only strikes down the will of the people of Arizona in a free election, but it opens a much broader question: if government cannot prescribe the language in which its employees are to do their work, can it require conformity on any other workplace policies? The case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court on December 20, 1995 by petitioner Robert Park. Joining the appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court with Amicus briefs are the following: 39 members of the Arizona legislature, the Claremont Institute, the Equal Opportunity Foundation, the Pacific Legal Foundation, U.S. Inc., the Washington Legal Foundation, and 18 members of the U.S. Congress. (Private communication, Barnaby W. Zall, Counsel for Petitioner, 1/22/96)

The Anti-Official English Line-Up

English Plus, an organization promoting equality of all languages, has introduced legislation in several states. These resolutions are not legally binding and, in general, simply encourage the use of diverse languages. Such resolutions have been adopted in New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island and Washington state, through the efforts of the ACLU, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), The National Council for La Raza, and TESOL, the professional organization for teachers of English to speakers of other languages. Ironically, not one organization working for official English is opposed to the use or study of other languages. In fact, in many cases, the leaders of these groups are themselves fluently bilingual, as are their families.

The main accomplishment of the anti-Official English movement has been to label it firmly as "English Only," a pejorative label implying that no other languages may be spoken or studied in this country if the legislation succeeds, which, of course, is not the case.

SUMMING IT UP

Returning to the main themes of the first edition of *Forked Tongue*, I am cautiously optimistic in reporting the changes and improvements of the past five years. Many advances have been made in the public visibility of the plight of language minority students in our schools, in the increased willingness of school districts to strike out in new directions, in the expanded research base on educational alternatives. More is generally understood about the myriad factors that affect second language learning and academic achievement besides the school program--age, personality, motivation, family aspirations, culture, parents' educational level, family transiency, socioeconomic status. There will never be one school program that fits all language minority children in all school districts.

The most encouraging signs are in the individual classrooms and the school districts where bilingual programs are being supplanted, either openly or covertly, by special English language instruction. This practice is gaining converts and legitimacy as it becomes more widely understood that bilingual teaching is not helping students gain the essential skills for literacy and mastery of school subjects.

For several years the professional organization for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) has worked on developing the goals of English language instruction for pre-kindergarten through grade 12 in the United States. The document defining the major goals and establishing the standards for successful mastery of the goals will be published in April 1996. A brief preview indicates that the goals are eminently sensible and could be accomplished, in my opinion, in 1-3 years by the average LEP child, provided attention is focused immediately and intensively on immersion in the English language :

- learning to use English to communicate in social situations
- learning to use English to achieve academically in all school content areas, i.e., learning subject matter taught in English
- learning to use English in socially and culturally appropriate ways.

These goals cannot be met by LEP students either easily or quickly if native languages are the medium of instruction, and I state this with conviction as an indisputable fact.

The least encouraging sign is the political stranglehold on the public dialogue that is still powerfully weighted towards the status quo--loyal support for bilingual education. "Doing the right (politically correct) thing" is still the fashion. Self-righteous advocates for bilingual education, together with their well-meaning but often uninformed professional colleagues, publicly attack any deviation from the party line. Two brief examples, out of many that I could cite, make the point.

At the international TESOL Convention in Baltimore in March 1994, I attended a panel discussion with a large audience, and was startled to hear Dr. Jim Cummins, well-known proponent of native language teaching programs, state: "There is a growing anti-immigrant sentiment in this country, negative attitudes against other languages and against bilingual programs and it is being helped along by people like Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Diane Ravitch and Rosalie Porter." When I was given an opportunity to comment, I confronted Dr. Cummins with this statement, "I am Rosalie Porter and I object to your characterization of my positions. I am familiar with the writings of Schlesinger and Ravitch and know that they have never expressed anti-immigrant sentiments, nor have I. I am an immigrant. I am fluent in three languages. I am proud of the multilingual, multiethnic makeup of this country. Yes, I am a critic of bilingual education programs but that does not make me an opponent of bilingualism." Dr. Cummins' limp response was, "Thank you for clarifying things."

More recently, on September 18, 1995, a conference was organized in the Capital Building, Washington, DC, on "The Future of Bilingual Education," by the Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO), headed by Linda Chavez, a long-time critic of bilingual education. A nation-wide search was made to invite scholars, teachers and parents, who have taken positions for and against bilingual education, to participate in panel discussions to which congressmen, staffers, and the media were invited. To a man (and woman!), CEO was turned down by advocates for bilingual education--Steven Krashen, Virginia Collier, James Crawford, to name a few. Instead, the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus organized a counter conference on the same day, at an earlier hour, thus depriving the two camps of any opportunity to engage in civilized discourse.

From its inception, bilingual education has not embraced diversity of educational ideas but rather fostered fierce protection of a single dogma, a panacea that failed. The conclusions I expounded when *Forked Tongue* was first published in 1990, based on practical experience as a non-English speaking child, a teacher, and a school administrator--those conclusions have been validated and reinforced many times over in my research and program advisory work of recent years and by the hundreds of educators and parents who have voiced their agreement. The high tide mark for native language instruction programs has crested and appears to be receding before a swelling new wave of rational, sensible, varied educational efforts on behalf of limited-English students. One must fervently hope that substantial improvements are soon to be made in the schooling of these children whose participation in the mainstream life of our country as knowledgeable, productive citizens is an urgent necessity.

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THE BILINGUAL AND COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAM OF THE DEARBORN SCHOOLS, MICHIGAN: A MODEL FOR SYSTEMIC CHANGE AND INTEGRATION OF SERVICES.*

Shereen Arraf, Ph.D.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CONTEXT

Dearborn is located in the Metropolitan Detroit area, Michigan (population of 100,000). It has twenty-six elementary schools, five middle schools, and three high schools. In the low-income section of the city, poverty and limited-English proficiency levels in individual schools range between 29-89%, qualifying seventeen schools for bilingual/ESL education and eight schools for Title 1 services. In total there are approximately 5,000 students eligible for ESL/bilingual education services, the majority of whom are eligible for Title 1 services as well.

About 29% of the school population qualifies for free or reduced-fee lunch. However, 87.8% of these students are enrolled in eight elementary and two middle schools located in one section of the city where the level of low income in the schools ranges between 42-73%. This school year 33% of the students are limited-English proficient (LEP).

Background Information on the LEP Population and Their Families

Foreign-born persons make up 16% of the city's population, and over a third of those arrived in the United States during the past ten years. In the lower income section of the city, 82% are foreign born, coming almost exclusively from Middle Eastern countries where Arabic is the spoken and written language.

90% of LEP students come from Arabic-speaking homes. Their parents are first-generation immigrants who have a wide array of challenges and problems with

* I would like to acknowledge the contribution of two resource teachers, Maura Sedgeman and Marcie Fayz, whose review of and comments on this article were especially useful. I am deeply thankful to the Bilingual and Compensatory Education staff, my fellow administrators and parents. Their cooperative spirit, dedication to quality education, and continuing inquiry were instrumental in bringing about the successful systemic and integrated services now available to all students.

which to cope, including illiteracy in both their native language and English (33%), unemployment (30%), and acculturation to the new homeland.

As with many recent immigrants, members of the language-minority population often find temporary and short-term employment in neighborhood or family establishments and do not receive unemployment compensation benefits. However, the official unemployment rate for the target area has been estimated at around 30%, and is typical of a population with limited-English proficiency.

The parents' limited proficiency in English, coupled with their poor economic situation, impedes their ability to provide academic reinforcement and homework assistance, responsive discipline, stimulating games and instructional activities that are needed to develop the linguistic potential of their children.

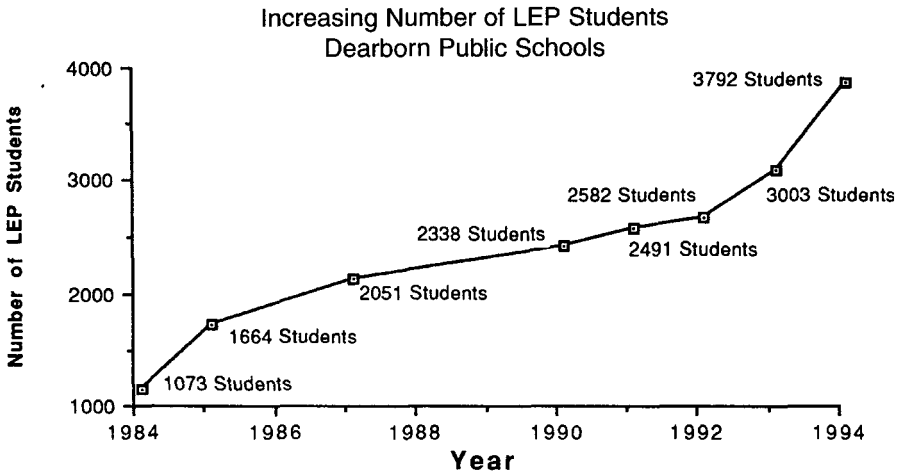
The Dearborn Public Schools' Adult ESL education program currently offers 55 ESL classes; with an enrollment of more than 3500 clients, these classes still cannot serve all potential students, as is made evident by a waiting list of persons who want to take English or adult education classes. Several assessments of this community's needs (Kulwicki, 1988; Luna 1988; and Arraf, 1992) indicate that English language assistance and helping their children to be good students ranked consistently as the highest identified needs by the community.

The most recent and comprehensive study (Arraf, 1992) gives strong evidence for the interest and concern shown by Arab-American parents for their children's education and for their desire to be good parents. According to the survey results, a randomly selected sample of parents overwhelmingly (85.4%) responded that both they and their children needed and wanted more educational services and more information and parent training about child rearing practices. As further evidence that these families are focused on their children as their best hope to improve their own and their community's future, they expressed the need for money for toys and other items for the children above their needs for food, medical care, special equipment or baby-sitters. Respondents wanted information on how better to communicate with their children's teachers, and on the entire structure and process of American education.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BILINGUAL/ESL PROGRAM

Since the late seventies, there has been a significant increase in Arabic-speaking immigrants who have sought a more secure home with relatives in Dearborn, MI. Also, there has been a significant growth in the Romanian and Albanian student population as a result of the Bosnian War (see Table 1).

Table 1



In order to expand supplemental services provided by the district to LEP students, several Title VII grant awards have been sought and granted since the summer of 1976, just before the arrival of the largest influx of Arabic-speaking refugees. Since then the number of students eligible for bilingual services has increased from 218 in 1976 to around 4,500 in the 1995/96 school year.

In 1992-93, and based on a needs assessment of LEP students conducted by the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Office, the program expanded to include additional bilingual/ESL staff. Intensive staff development services have been provided through on-site monitoring efforts, properly modeled research-based instruction, guidance, and a collaboration with universities for the completion of bilingual endorsement or ESL coursework and teacher certification (career ladder) for paraprofessionals.

Each school year, the bilingual program is assessed internally by the departmental staff, paraprofessionals, and school principals through monthly meetings. Parents are encouraged to provide input through the quarterly meetings between the program coordinator, community liaison, and staff on the one hand and the Parent Advisory Council (PAC) on the other. Recommendations are implemented promptly. There is an ongoing evaluation of program effectiveness, impact of staff development, and parent involvement activities as well. In addition, an outside monitor provides an annual comprehensive evaluation including a close examination of students' progress in the academic subject areas as well as in English language acquisition.

Description of the LEP Student Population

The Dearborn Public Schools has over 6,500 minority students, 58% of whom are limited-English proficient whose families settled in Dearborn in the last decade. Districtwide percentage of LEP students in elementary schools is 40%, with 25% and 19% in the middle and high schools respectively. This number of LEP students becomes significantly higher if we consider the fact that these students reside in the lower-income side of the city where the percentage of LEP students in the schools ranges between 40-90%. This number of LEP students is consistent with the number of low-income students as determined by free and reduced lunch counts. The increased enrollment resulted in the building of a new elementary school (Becker) in 1993, and the construction of another elementary school (Miller) that will be open for the 1996-97 school year.

A PARADIGM SHIFT IN SERVICE DELIVERY

Services for this target population in Dearborn have undergone major administrative and philosophical changes due to the merger of the Bilingual Department, the Title 1 Department, and the Early Childhood program in 1993. These programs are now incorporated under one bilingual coordinator, and the department is referred to as the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department.

The formation of the new Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department has resulted in a pooling of resources and expertise to better serve Dearborn's students. Appropriate instruction is delivered by the following personnel: one districtwide resource teacher/curriculum specialist, forty-five bilingual/ESL classroom teachers, twelve bilingual/ESL resource teachers, forty bilingual paraprofessionals, thirty Title 1 paraprofessionals, fifteen bilingual-Title 1 paraprofessionals, two bilingual-Title 1 teachers, eleven Title 1 resource teachers, and eleven preschool teachers. Other support personnel include a bilingual Title 1 parent/community liaison, one Title VII bilingual parent educator, one preschool community/parent liaison, and three secretaries, one of whom is bilingual.

The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department provides bilingual/ESL services to all three high schools, all five middle schools, and fourteen elementary schools. Title 1 services are provided to three middle schools and eight elementary buildings. A common vision and philosophy has been created as a result of a series of needs assessments, inservice training, and brainstorming sessions.

1. Program Philosophy

Dearborn Schools Mission Statement: "The mission of Dearborn Public Schools, in cooperation with home and community, is to prepare all students to become

contributing citizens in a changing society by providing a challenging curriculum and high expectations to develop knowledge, skills, self-esteem and a sense of personal and social responsibility."

The program adopted the philosophy that LEP and other "at risk" students need acceleration, not remediation, in order to perform at levels appropriate to their age group by the end of the elementary, middle or high school. The process of program integration yielded the following philosophical beliefs :

All children can achieve academic success and language competencies when we as educators:

- Identify and focus on students' strengths to accelerate their potential
- Acknowledge and build upon home background and prior knowledge
- Assist students in the acculturation process while developing respect and appreciation for the diverse cultures represented in our community
- Perceive the child as a whole
- Promote English language acquisition and development
- Create true partnerships between school and family
- Maximize students' abilities in the cognitive/linguistic, social and emotional domains
- Provide student and family-centered schools
- Match teaching styles with students' learning styles and modalities
- Utilize social interaction integrating listening, speaking, reading, writing, viewing, thinking, and presenting.

The reformed common goals that have been developed in order to accelerate LEP students' content and performance standards are aligned with Michigan State standards (PA 25, 335 and 339) which, in turn, mirror Goals 2000.

2. Prerequisites for the Integrated Program

Shared vision and focused efforts have gradually led to the implementation of an integrated delivery model. Components that are essential to success include the following prerequisites:

- Strong and skilled leadership (superintendent, central office administrators, principals, board of education)

- Strong partnership among all staff members in each school (regular, bilingual/ESL, Title 1, special education, and support staff)

- Strong coalitions and consortia among schools
- Flexibility and willingness to change
- Common mission and purpose
- Cultural awareness and inclusiveness of diverse groups
- Sound instructional techniques based on current educational research
- Continuous and systemic professional development
- Strong partnership between schools and home.

3. Program Goals in Light of Goals 2000

The program goals of the Dearborn Public Schools Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department (Fig. 1) stem from the philosophy that all children can attain English language competencies and academic success. By setting high standards and expectations, the program accelerates the education of students towards Goals 2000 and beyond.

Figure 1
Dearborn Public Schools
Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program Goals

- Assist students in becoming independent and life-long strategic learners.
- Teach language competencies through content area instruction.
- Emphasize metacognitive approaches and higher order thinking processes.
- Provide an integrated nurturing curriculum that synthesizes aesthetic values and appreciation for life.
- Move from remediation to acceleration by having high expectations, and providing students with early and successful academic and social experiences.
- Assist students and their families in the process of acculturation to the American school system and American society and culture.
- Help students understand other cultures and develop a solid ground for building relations among various ethnic groups in the community.
- Provide an instructional delivery model that is based on sound research as well as practitioners' methodology incorporating deductive approaches.
- Keep staff abreast of research-based linguistically and culturally appropriate instructional and parent involvement approaches.

PROGRAM DESIGN

In order to accomplish program goals, the Bilingual and Compensatory Education coordinator conducted a needs assessment survey engaging principals, bilingual/ESL and Title 1 resource teachers, classroom teachers, paraprofessionals, parents, and community leaders. The survey team explored innovative research-based ideas for instruction, professional development, assessment, parent involvement, and community partnerships. A strategic plan was developed with an ongoing assessment and evaluation component.

The department's strategic reform plan has been successfully and systematically evolving as is evident from a yearly review process and feedback from students, staff and parents. The program is currently solidifying the new system, drawing upon internal and external human expertise and financial resources. Surveys conducted by the Bilingual and Compensatory Education department of building administrators, teachers, paraprofessionals, and parents, yielded positive reviews. Results indicate that this new infrastructure is leading to systemic reform.

1. Facilitating Factors for District/School Plans

Several facilitating factors and step-by-step procedures have moved the department's plan toward districtwide systemic reform. The Department:

- Involved and sought support from Bilingual and Compensatory Education state directors and county consultants. They were continuously informed of the new developments and the ongoing changes that took place while the program was evolving
- Presented need and new direction to the Board of Education
- Met with principals whose schools qualified for bilingual and Title 1 services on a monthly basis to discuss needs and brainstorm solutions
- Visited other districts and states that had existing collaborative designs
- Selected a committee at the district level to develop a district plan. Involved school administrators, curriculum specialists, representatives from colleges and universities, community leaders, parents, district administrators, and teachers. At the same time, schools selected school improvement committees that had school, community and parent representatives. Both Title 1 and bilingual staff are active members of these committees
- Acted as agents and advocates for all students
- Met with each building administrator and staff member to present district plan and guidelines and to shape the plan (needs assessment, strategic plan) for each school.

2. Eligibility Criteria for Program Services

a. Student Identification

To be eligible for the program services, a student must satisfy the following criteria:

1. A language other than English is spoken regularly in the home of a child (PreK-12) as indicated on "Home Language Survey."
2. The child (grades 3-12) fails to score above the 40th percentile on standardized tests assessing proficiency in the English language (speaking, listening, reading and writing) or in math.

Dearborn Public Schools' eligibility criteria and procedures concerning special language assistance for language minority students are based on:

1. Quality and equity in education implemented for all students -- Dearborn Board of Education and Administration Philosophy.
2. Lau Compliance Plan of 1979.
3. Michigan State Law Public Act 294 - following State Administrative Rules that govern the identification of students of limited-English Proficiency.
4. Parent input on implementation of a quality program as expressed by the Parent Advisory Council (PAC).

The process of identifying language minority students is a collaborative effort coordinated between each school's administration and staff on the one hand, and the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Coordinator and staff on the other. Each school has a team of bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers who facilitate assessment, placement, and services to eligible students in coordination with building administrators and the central office coordinator, following the district's guidelines and procedures.

b. Assessment Tools

Evaluation and Assessment of potentially eligible students include Language Proficiency Tests and Achievement Tests as follows:

GRADE	TEST
K-1	Pre-LAS
3-8	LAS (Listening, speaking, reading, writing) ITBS (Iowa Test Basic Skills) Reading and Math Concepts
9-12	TAP (Reading and Math) Test of Achievement and Proficiency

c. Notification to Parents

Once students are identified as LEP, parents are sent a letter explaining the identification procedures, the program of instruction, curriculum, staff, and their right to services. Parents have the right to decline services by sending back a signed form included in the notification letter. Such letters are provided in five languages: Arabic, Spanish, Romanian, Albanian and Italian. If parents do not consent to placement of their child in the program the child is removed to a setting where bilingual/ESL education is not used. The parental refusal documents are saved and filed in the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Office. They are also entered into the data base. If for any reason the parents wish to re-enter their child into the program after parent withdrawal, they may fill out a form that will allow them to do so.

d. Exit Criteria

The essential goal of program services is to enable students to achieve proficiency in the English language and to maintain progress in the content areas in order to achieve academically in school and beyond. Standardized test results, coupled with teacher recommendations, form the basis for the exit decision. Parents are informed of the change in the student's program status when it occurs.

In the spring of the school year, LEP students are tested with standardized instruments covering oral English, reading of English and math achievement. Those who score higher than the 40th percentile on all three tests will exit the program, and their parents are notified of the decision. Students are monitored for one year after exiting the program to insure that academic progress is maintained.

THE BILINGUAL/ESL INSTRUCTIONAL DELIVERY MODEL: AN EXEMPLARY INTEGRATED LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

The merger of Title 1 with Bilingual departments led to further investigation of program delivery. There was a need to eradicate the fragmentation of services provided to the same students by different staff members. The combined staff provided opportunity for a concentrated effort in adapting the most appropriate research-based instructional approaches (Short, 1994; Chamot, 1994; Carpenter, 1985; Clay, 1993). The program instructional team designed a delivery system that accelerates English language development through content materials focusing on the district's curricular goals.

1. Instruction

LEP students eligible for services receive assistance offered by bilingual/ESL teachers and bilingual paraprofessionals for a daily period ranging from thirty-minute sessions to full-time bilingual classtime. Levels and scope of services are determined by

the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Office based on LEP students' English language proficiency, academic background and needs. Guidelines are then implemented by school staff with the support of building and central office administrators. Intensity of services is modified on a yearly basis following the assessment of students' language and academic progress in addition to teachers' recommendations.

Since 90% of the LEP students are native speakers of Arabic, in classrooms where the majority of the students speak Arabic the bilingual teachers focus on teaching English and content area subjects using native language support. In this way, they assist the students in making the transition from their native language to English, expecting high performance levels and setting high standards for success. Children, therefore, do not fall behind in concept development and formation as they work on transferring concepts from their first language to English in an accelerated manner.

In order to bring students to the appropriate grade level in terms of content area subjects, teachers preview challenging literature with those students who are not yet reading at grade level. Through advance exposure to the curriculum, students are able to succeed in class discussions and in cooperative group activities with their native English-speaking peers. This approach eliminates the need for students to be removed from the classroom in order to receive remedial reading instruction.

Readers' Workshop: The Readers' workshop is used to approach literature-based language arts experiences. The steps in the workshop process result from brainstorming sessions in which students identify a list of strategies that help them achieve their reading goals. The list provides students with a framework for guided reading and increases their sense of ownership of the learning process itself.

Writers' Workshop: In some schools bilingual and regular education teachers learnt to use the Writers' Workshop approach with students who are learning the process of writing. The sequence of writing steps, in which students learn to write, revise, and edit their writing with their peers and with the teacher, has been used effectively. Bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers model the sequence and support teachers' efforts in the implementation process through modeling and co-teaching efforts. Students are engaged in a Writers' Workshop through multi-age groupings and regroupings where teachers and paraprofessionals assist small groups of students through co-teaching. Students work on initial drafts, reviewing, getting feedback, revising, and sharing. They know what is expected of them and are encouraged to work on independent writing projects.

Cooperative Learning and Individualized Instruction: In an attempt to match teaching styles with learning styles, bilingual/ESL teachers use cooperative learning

in several ways. As a result, students show remarkable ability to be engaged and spend extended periods of time without adult direction. As students move through the process, their cooperative groups change and they work with a large number of their classmates. In this way, children develop a desire to learn and to assist one another in learning.

While students work in cooperative groups, teachers and paraprofessionals are able to provide one-on-one interaction with individual students for 20-25 minutes at a time, or work for 30 minutes with a small group, developing literacy with the aid of the Content Based Literacy Model (CBLM). Under these arrangements, the transition to English language literacy and development is tailored to each student.

Both ESL and bilingual teachers use the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) suggested by Chamot and O'Malley (1994) while integrating learning for students. Teachers follow this instructional format, teaching English with native language support as needed:

a. Preparation
Motivation
Accessing prior knowledge
Vocabulary and concept development
Overview

b. Presentation
Explanation of concept
Eliciting questions

c. Practice
Checking for understanding
Small group discussion and hands-on experiences

d. Evaluation & Extension of Concepts
Relate to the real world
Think about extension of concepts
Parent-child-school connection (homework) and
Family Math/Science project sessions
Closure-review

e. Cumulative Thematic Projects
Cooperative learning project sessions at the end of each unit of study that focus on developing students' research and problem solving skills using active learning.

Other teaching techniques used include the natural thematic approach, based on the "empowerment" model of "interactive experiential" teaching. (Cummins, 1984: Wells, 1986) Key elements of this instruction are:

1. Orientation to new topic using English and the students' native language and culture through genuine dialogue among students and teacher. The bilingual teacher's role is active as a guide and facilitator to learning. (Lambert, 1975; Cummins, 1989)
2. Collaborative learning context through cooperative learning settings, student-student interaction, and encouragement of meaningful language. (Kagan, 1986)
3. "Comprehensible input" --integration of language use and development with all curriculum content, not isolation of subjects. (Krashen, 1982)
4. Development of critical and creative thinking skills.
5. Assignments that generate intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation. (Vygotsky, 1962; Cummins, 1986)

The instructional activities focus on oral and literacy skills, the language of content areas (namely math and science), and the application of concepts and language skills to real life situations. Discovery learning through mini-lab experiences, hands-on and minds-on activities, daily problem-solving team work, cooperative learning, and interactive listening, speaking, reading, and process writing activities, is the hallmark of each lesson design. Each lesson is supplemented by directed reading and thinking activities centered around diverse cultural contributions in the fields of math, science, and the arts.

Language minority guests are sometimes invited to speak to the LEP students. These speakers show by example that the students, too, can achieve language and content proficiency and become contributors to America's future. Lastly, field trips and cumulative math and science projects, integrated with language arts, enhance the real-life applications of classroom studies.

In 1993, a delivery system based on a literature review of effective teaching models, learning theories and field practices, led to the development of the Content Based Literacy Model (CBLM) by a team of bilingual and Title 1 teachers. When using this model, teachers encourage students to read literature from different genres on a daily basis. They are coached to become independent strategic learners by utilizing metacognitive (self-monitoring, self-correcting, self-regulating and questioning)

strategies through a focused, integrated reading-writing model. (James, 1890; Vygotsky, 1962; Cummins, 1981; Routman, 1991; Clay, 1991; Krashen, 1982)

Both bilingual and Title 1 teachers and paraprofessionals received training in how to apply CBLM when working with small groups of students. After a period of field tests, the model was shared with classroom teachers to establish uniformity in the delivery of instruction. A series of staff development sessions was provided through team-teaching and workshops in which effective teaching strategies and integrating reading and writing with science, math and social studies were discussed.

In order to provide the students with successful reading experiences, students' strengths are assessed to identify individual interest and reading levels. A diverse, content-rich collection of books was purchased and categorized by reading level. These books were then aligned with the district's curriculum regarding different subject areas and placed in classrooms for daily use. Thus, it is possible for all students to be matched to the appropriate level of instruction for faster acceleration.

These content-based books provide students with the opportunity to read with 90% accuracy as measured by a reading "running record." This collection was chosen on the basis of the following criteria:

- thematic groupings
- sequential and predictable content
- usage of child's natural language rather than contrived language
- highly supportive illustrations of the books' language
- big books and multiple copies for small group instruction
- based on child's daily experiences
- written in/translated into more than one language
- culturally appropriate.

One instructional model in math, Cognitively Guided Instruction (CGI), proved to be especially appropriate for the district's students. (Carpenter et. al., 1985) The resource staff is currently being trained in this model through the Multifunctional Resource Center (MRC), and is starting field application. By linking CGI with the Content Based Literacy Model, student learning is synthesized and accelerated.

English language learners are integrated with English fluent students in both regular and bilingual classrooms. In a print-rich environment, students learn English from their peers and from "buddy readers" selected from among the upper grades. Bilingual

and Title 1 resource teachers and paraprofessionals provide "in-classroom" instruction using the natural approach, whole language approach, language experience and cooperative learning. Shared reading, peer buddies, and community service students are examples of other supportive in-classroom services provided on a daily basis.

Classroom teachers are provided with listening centers as a reinforcement tool for language acquisition and small group instruction. The centers include taped books and songs in English and the home languages of the children in order to assist them in transferring concepts from their home language to English.

In an effort to create shared responsibility between school and home, teachers and paraprofessionals send materials, including books and tapes, home with students to reinforce new learning experiences (reading, math and science). The purchase of additional tape recorders and taped books and materials have made this possible.

Resource materials and manipulatives are regularly upgraded and provided to each school to reinforce the learning process across the curriculum. Such resources include science story books, science big books, unifex cubes, "Family Math" resource guides, Activities that Integrate Math and Science (AIMS) kits, and thematic units.

In one of the schools, a two-way bilingual education pilot program was initiated in 1994/95. The program's objectives include developing student proficiency in English and Arabic, accelerating academic achievement, and developing both self-esteem and positive attitudes toward other cultures. Both English- and Arabic-speaking parents living in the school's neighborhood have the option of enrolling their children in the program after attending an orientation meeting held by the school principal and program administrator.

As part of the intensive focus on accelerating student achievement, the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department trained eight Title 1 teachers in Reading Recovery. (Clay, 1993) Teachers receive extensive assistance from a year-long course at Western Michigan University, followed by two years of close district supervision and evaluation. These teachers provide a one-to-one diagnostic reading program for a period of thirty minutes a day per student. This year four bilingual teachers are being trained in this approach by the district's Reading Recovery Teacher Leader.

2. Middle and High Schools Model: Additional Accommodations

The Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) meets the academic needs of students learning English as a second language in the Dearborn middle and high schools as well. The secondary LEP students encounter more challenges in learning the majority language and in achieving academically. These challenges

include overcoming illiteracy, disrupted schooling, cultural mismatch with the majority culture, failure to provide for initial cognitive and linguistic success in the first language, and inadequate curriculum and instruction in the home country.

In the middle and high schools, students are placed in ESL/bilingual classes based on their English proficiency levels. CALLA is used to assist ESL students to succeed in school by providing transitional instruction from either standard ESL programs or bilingual programs to grade-level content classrooms. Teachers meet the academic needs of three types of ESL students: (1) students who have developed social communicative skills through beginning level ESL classes or through exposure to an English-speaking environment but who have not yet developed academic language skills appropriate to their grade level; (2) students who have acquired academic language skills in their native language and initial proficiency in English but who need assistance in transferring concepts and skills learned in the first language to English; and (3) bilingual, English-dominant students who have not yet developed academic language skills in either language.

In the middle schools, students are assigned to a team of ESL/bilingual teachers whose expertise lies in different subject areas, thus providing opportunities for students to acquire English through content area instruction. Teachers have common planning time and meet regularly with the assigned Bilingual/ESL Department Chair. The Department Chair is selected on a rotating basis by the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Coordinator and provides leadership in the identification, assessment, and placement of students, as well as in follow-up services, parent involvement, and staff development at each of the school buildings. In the middle schools, each LEP student is assigned to an advisor within the team. Teachers meet with their advisees every morning in order to provide guidance to students on pertinent educational issues.

Middle and high school students are assigned to either beginning, intermediate, or advanced level classrooms based on their English proficiency level and background knowledge in each subject area. Placement is determined by an initial assessment of each student, coupled with consecutive yearly follow-up testing and careful evaluation of progress. Students who are illiterate join a literacy class where basic skills are taught in an accelerated manner through integrated learning. Beginners spend most of their day in classrooms with ESL/bilingual teachers who also specialize in English, math, science, social studies, or economics. However, these students are mainstreamed during special electives in which a bilingual paraprofessional provides native language support through a co-teaching arrangement. Intermediate and advanced students may select from both regular and bilingual/ESL classes.

Recently, high school teachers have been trained in the Career Awareness Curriculum which has been incorporated in the ESL English classes in an attempt to assist the students in the school-to-work transition. LEP students receive career counseling and guidance from vocational education teachers and counselors.

3. Technology

Computer Assisted Instruction is available with software selections, such as "Accelerated Reader" and "The Writing Center," that allow for a high level of interaction and integration of reading and writing. Additional individual computers are placed in the bilingual and regular education classrooms as well as in resource rooms for daily editing and publishing. The use of technology motivates and advances LEP students' literacy levels and love of reading and writing.

4. Materials Development

Bilingual Education instructional services in Dearborn adhere to the District curriculum and State Core Curriculum guidelines in each particular area. Because of the serious dearth of instructional materials in English as a Second Language, the Dearborn Public Schools Bilingual Education program has continued to develop appropriate materials to match the students' needs. Bilingual storybooks, resource books, parent involvement activities, and district-developed content area materials have complemented resources previously available to students, parents and teachers.

PROGRAM INFRASTRUCTURE AND IMPLEMENTATION

1. Team Building at Each School Site

Meetings between the departmental coordinator and school principals take place in order to coordinate services and provide updates on research, program policies and procedures. These meetings seek administrative support to strengthen collaboration between regular and bilingual and Title 1 teams in providing integrated services to students and in planning and implementing schoolwide and districtwide staff development opportunities.

As a result of the coordinated meetings with building administrators, a series of discussions and inservice opportunities takes place at each school in order to discuss the necessity for change and the steps needed to coordinate and maintain a successful integrated program. Collaborative efforts are thus strengthened in each eligible school, and reconfigurations are encouraged at the building level.

The majority of schools have at least one bilingual teacher for each grade level where LEP students with the least proficiency in English are placed. Bilingual teachers act

as advocates for high educational standards due to their competency in second language acquisition and cultural sensitivity. Furthermore, they are very successful in maintaining parent involvement because of their knowledge of students' home languages and understanding of their cultural backgrounds. (Garcia, 1994; Cummins, 1986) These teachers work with non-bilingual classroom teachers in planning appropriate instruction for second language learners, parent involvement activities, field trips, and staff development opportunities. The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department initiates and supports collaborations in these areas.

In addition to the bilingual classroom teachers, a team of one bilingual/ESL and one Title 1 resource teacher is placed at each school receiving bilingual and Title 1 services. They are trained to act as staff developers and as facilitators of change. Their responsibilities include assessment and placement of, and direct services to, students, staff development in subject area instruction, reading and second language acquisition, and parent involvement.

The program coordinator meets with the teams of bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers bi-monthly to assess program impact, student progress and assessment issues, staff development plans, material selection, and future direction in light of the needs of Dearborn's unique population. Strategies that strengthen the collaborative model of departmental activities across the district are discussed in terms of available financial and human resources.

2. Co-teaching and Support-teaching

At each school, classroom teachers, bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers, and paraprofessionals form a planning team. Each team then makes use of a strategic approach to teamwork, thus enabling discussion of individual student needs, material selection, instructional deliveries, and evaluation. Teachers are encouraged to team-teach by grade or by subject area (horizontal and vertical teaming) and to discuss ways of developing and linking each teacher's goals, objectives, and outcomes. The teams also plan joint field trips, coordinate their curricula, and design lessons and activities to strengthen non-graded approaches to teaching, thematic instruction, parental involvement and staff development opportunities. With the assistance of substitute teachers, who occasionally replace classroom teachers, the teams have time to reflect upon their teaching strategies and to suggest areas for improvement with opportunities for further learning. Teachers also meet during the afternoons or during preparation time or lunch time to develop joint solutions for reaching particular students.

Both bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers meet on a weekly basis to review student needs and levels of service, assess language competency of new students, and recom-

mend intervention strategies to classroom teachers. Similarly, at the middle and high schools, one bilingual/ESL teacher dedicates at least one hour a day to facilitate services for limited-English proficient students. At the middle school, these teachers, as members of the schools' teams, discuss ways of integrating bilingual and non-bilingual services through team-teaching, staff development and cultural activities.

Bilingual paraprofessionals are continuing to increase "in classroom" supported instruction for students who, in the past, would have been removed from integrated classrooms. This "Support Teaching" approach provides the opportunity to work with all students in the classrooms, not just the identified bilingual and Title 1 students. The team oversees the instruction of heterogeneously or homogeneously grouped students, rotating responsibility for these groups among the classroom teacher, resource teacher, and paraprofessional.

3. Student Support Teams

At each school Student Support Teams, consisting of the principal, program director, bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers, classroom teachers, paraprofessionals, special education support staff, parent/community liaison, and parents, have been created. Each team discusses individual student and family needs whenever necessary, drawing upon resources available in the school and community. The team refers students and their families to community-based health, mental health, and family services for additional support. Such resources have enhanced the students' acculturation process, adjustment to the school system, and job placement, as well as adult education for their parents.

4. Articulation Meetings

In order to provide a smooth transition for students moving from elementary to middle school, or from middle school to high school, articulation meetings are set up by the department in which teachers review student progress, appropriate placement, and materials needed for accelerated programming.

Bilingual/ESL curriculum and textbook evaluation committees review and modify LEP students' instructional outcomes based on the changing needs of students at all levels. Follow-up meetings with college and business representatives are an integral part of this process if students are to succeed after completing high school.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

A districtwide reform committee was formed during the 1994/95 school year to develop a systemic school improvement plan in alignment with the state plan and

Goals 2000. Individual school improvement committees simultaneously revised their improvement plans and aligned them with the evolving district plan. The committees restructured instructional methods, staff development, assessment, parent involvement, and community partnership endeavors in an attempt to establish an integrated delivery of services as proposed by the U.S. Department of Education (1994) and Stefkovich (1993). This plan was integrated into the Bilingual and Compensatory Education plan in order to avoid fragmentation and duplication of services.

Professional development is school-determined, based on students' and teachers' needs. Teachers share knowledge and techniques, and together investigate a particular teaching approach. (Wasley, 1991; Johnson, 1988) The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department supports this effort by consulting with experts in the fields of language acquisition, reading, and content area. It works closely with the schools to assess needs and recommend professional development plans consistent with the district's philosophy and each individual school's goals.

The changing student population makes it necessary for teachers to learn more about the cultural backgrounds of their students and to adapt different strategies for instructing those students. Basic and differentiated staff development training is provided throughout the district. Training sessions cover a wide variety of topics: theoretical framework for bilingual education, language acquisition and academic learning, English as a Second Language, teaching LEP students in mainstream classrooms, Cooperative Learning, cultural awareness, parent education, Language Experience Approach (LEA), Integrated Thematic Instruction, and Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA).

The bilingual teams provide a series of discussions on cultural variety and its impact on teaching and learning. Classroom teachers become familiar with the cultural backgrounds of their students in order to promote a responsive climate in the schools. New students are thus supported throughout the acculturation process as they adjust to both the new school and their new country. (Cummins, 1981; 1986)

The Department of Human Resources developed and implemented a mentor/novice teacher program which provides opportunities for professional support, collegial visits and sharing, thus creating a learning community. The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department has established a professional lending library so that staff members may keep abreast of research in the areas of teaching and learning. The library includes audio-visual training kits and references for native language development and second language acquisition, parent involvement, and family liter-

acy. Other resources include strategies on content-based literacy, early childhood education, and culturally, developmentally, and linguistically appropriate teaching.

The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program acts with the Department of Instructional Services to insure that teachers and paraprofessionals receive the staff development necessary to aid all students in achieving their full potential. Staff development topics include second language acquisition and the constructivist approach to teaching, which includes such methods as Cognitively Guided Instruction (CGI), Cooperative Learning, Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA), Multiple Intelligences, and Integrated Thematic Instruction. (Carpenter, 1985; Chamot, 1994; Gardner, 1993; Johnson, 1988)

Specialized training is provided with the Content Based Literacy Model (CBLM) with an eye toward culturally and linguistically diverse students. Multicultural training for new teachers is provided in order to improve communication skills and working relationships with culturally diverse students and their families.

In collaboration with Wayne State University, the Multifunctional Resource Center (MRC) at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and Evaluation Assistance Center-East (EAC), the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department offers on-site college courses (funded by Title VII and Title 1 funds) to teachers and paraprofessionals during the school year and in the summer. The courses are tailored to the needs of a diverse student population. Course topics include ESL/Bilingual strategies, literacy development, parent involvement techniques and Thematic Instruction. This collaborative effort has resulted in the development of a career ladder program for paraprofessionals who wish to pursue professional status as certified teachers. (Lyons, 1993; Bliss, 1991; Sergiovanni,1994)

A concerted effort is also under way to replace standardized testing procedures with alternative assessment techniques. Districtwide workshops on alternative assessment and criterion-referenced testing have been provided for the purposes of planning individualized instruction and monitoring student progress, as recommended by Pierce (1993) and Fradd (1994).

As an outreach to classroom teachers, a series of staff development workshops provide professional development to classroom teachers in strategic instruction of reading and writing. The departmental Title 1 resource teachers and the Reading Recovery Teacher-Leader deliver specific techniques that are linguistically appropriate to limited-English proficient students.

PARENT ENRICHMENT PROGRAMS

Programs that involve parents in the schools play a major role in creating a desirable context for teaching and learning. Research indicates that staff sensitivity to parents' primary needs and priorities increases parents' receptiveness to intervention programs and their trust in school staff. (Bromwich, 1981; Moles, 1987; Epstein, 1983, 1986) Successful programs need to emphasize the development of family support teams to oversee the comprehensive needs of all family members as well as home learning activities. (Frymier, 1985; Coleman, 1987)

The National Education Association's Teacher-Parent Partnership Project (1986) indicates that even short-term programs increase parent attendance at school meetings and satisfaction with teachers. Through systemic collaborative initiatives with early childhood, adult and community education programs, schools can create family-centered services that are effective in meeting the needs of all students. (Epstein, 1992; Shneider, 1993)

Increasing parent involvement in school activities is one of the most important goals of school reform plans. (U.S. Department of Education, 1994) The reauthorization of Title VII and Title 1 provides an opportunity to strengthen community confidence in schools. School boards, administrators, and educators need to involve parents in the development and implementation of comprehensive programs. School districts also need to establish a framework and adopt written policies and mechanisms through which parent involvement goals are achieved.

The Department of Bilingual and Compensatory Education has adopted a parent involvement policy that includes creating active partnerships between schools and their communities. To attain this goal, a joint Title VII and Title 1 Parent Advisory Council (PAC), and a Preschool Parent Advisory Council (PPAC) were formed. Both councils meet quarterly, suggesting improvements to the department in different areas such as curriculum, participation in school activities, and parents-training-parents programs (Fig. 2).

Figure 2

Suggestions for School-Home Partnership

Family Math and Family Science.
Play Time is Science.
Parent Advisory Council.
Parent-child field trips.
Classroom volunteers.
Parent Link, a computer phone link.
Lending libraries that include toys, games, and references.
Content Based Literacy home kits.
Taped books and recorders kits.
Classroom volunteers to reinforce students' learning.
School orientation sessions for new parents.
Parent-child open house.
Family science and math fairs.
Open door policy.
Parents supporting bilingual and Title 1 students.
Small group discussions on topics of interest to parents.
Parent Interest Surveys and questionnaires.
Fund raisers.
Holiday programs for families.
Curriculum review committees.
Shared reading where children ask parents questions.
Bilingual newsletters.
Bilingual cable TV programs.
Cross-cultural book fairs.
Interviews of parent role models.
Library trips.
Parent room/lounge at each school.
Visits to cultural museums.
Parent-child journals.
Parent Leaders/ Parents Training Parents.
Parent-child activities.
Multicultural festivals.
Parent speakers bureau.
Parent storytellers of oral traditions.
Publishing centers.
Community schools.
Extended day/year tutoring programs.
Family literacy programs.
Parent-teacher recognition dinners.
Professional development sessions for parents.
Child care services.

The department makes successful use of parent involvement models that have been shown to be effective. The models include parent-child activities, shared reading, small group discussions, in-classroom participation and modeling. Parents participate in writing district and school plans, reviewing curriculum, and involving other parents in the "parents-training-parents" sessions. They are involved in the instructional program as resources, role models, and volunteers. With the guidance of Student Support Teams, parents and teachers become successful partners in instructional planning.

In addition, parents attend awareness sessions to discuss school policies, students' rights, and student codes of conduct. Such discussions lead to active parent involvement in policy making and curriculum development. The Title 1 bilingual parent/community liaison and the Title VII parent educator assist teachers in providing models for parents who wish to improve parent-child interactions and parental reinforcement of the child's cognitive processes. They also instruct parents and conduct "Family Math" and "Playtime is Science" activities. The instructional staff prepares and provides children with take-home kits, books, and Content-Based Literacy Model homework packets.

Bilingual handbooks, newsletters, and cable-television programs cover topics of interest to parents. Such topics may include child development, life management skills for parents, and school regulations.

The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department administers a Parent Survey Questionnaire at each school building. It also seeks input from administrators, teachers, and paraprofessionals. The purpose of the survey is to assess the effectiveness of parent involvement at each school. Results are compiled and shared with the district's systemic reform committee and individual school personnel to assist them in modifying their school improvement plans.

COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP

There is a strong collaboration with community-based programs, especially ACCESS. Bilingual community resources provided by ACCESS include health services, family counseling, vocational education, cultural arts programs, adult education, and mental health and social services. Dearborn schools coordinate their programs with these available resources in order to provide comprehensive services to students and their families.

The bilingual Title 1 community/parent liaison, the preschool parent liaison, and the Title VII parent educator collaborate with teachers in referring students' fami-

lies to bilingual community services. Follow-up meetings with human service providers and student support teams indicate the positive impact of such coordinated efforts on academic progress and adjustment to the American school culture.

OTHER SUPPORT SERVICES

1. Early Childhood Programs

All aspects of the Dearborn's Early Childhood Program are based on research and the district's experience in operating programs and services specifically developed for Dearborn's LEP and other at risk students and their parents. The program and activities are based on studies, research, guidelines, program evaluations and suggestions governing adult literacy, parenting and early childhood education.

Research indicates that children who read at an early age and who are surrounded by printed matter and reading activity at home grow up with an appreciation of literacy and an urge to become literate themselves. Hence, the early-childhood-project students and their families are the primary focus of a districtwide concern with readying young children for school.

Eleven preschool centers, located at the schools with the greatest need, provide an extension of the home at school and an extension of the school at home. This is achieved by facilitating concept development in the English language for four-year-old LEP children through parent education and classroom instruction. One of the two staff members speaks the native language of the child and parent. The preschool teacher and paraprofessional work as a team to create the best school experience possible for parents and their children. The staff provides monthly education sessions to parents in which cognitive, social/emotional, and physical needs of their children are addressed.

Family members are encouraged to visit and volunteer in the classroom regularly to show the value of school to the child and to reinforce teachers' efforts to make the most of each child's learning potential. The parent and child share with other family members the value of interactive learning and the way speaking, listening, reading and writing are related to each other. Opportunities for adult support of child language development and early literacy skills are planned for, developed, and recorded. Teachers, students, and project parents are involved in activities that promote multicultural understanding, such as those provided by the Anti-Bias and Roots and Wings curricula, and High Scope. A lending library has been established at each center so that parents may borrow stimulating materials, books, and toys that further prepare children for school.

2. Orientation and Counseling

LEP students may require counseling in the primary language of the student. Bilingual teachers collaborate with the counselors to assist students and parents in learning how to adjust to life in the United States. The teams add to and improve school resources, resolve student conflicts, and make referrals, as appropriate. Bilingual counselors and bilingual staff work on building self-esteem and career awareness.

3. Extended Day/Year Programs

a. Accelerated Program

An accelerated before- and after-school program is provided to bilingual and Title 1 students based on need. Under the supervision and guidance of departmental resource teachers, classroom teachers and paraprofessionals, upper-grade students are paired with lower-grade students for shared reading and writing time. Guided reading, math and science activities, and reinforcement of content concepts studied during the school day are an integral part of these sessions. Daily logs and student journals are kept and shared with students, parents and classroom teachers.

To provide positive role models, bilingual high school students serve as tutors for younger students in the Accelerated Program. Recently, the program coordinator initiated a joint project with the local community college in which college students provide mentorship and tutoring services to bilingual and Title 1 students in the classrooms and the after-school Accelerated Program. Feedback from schools affirms gains in individual student academic achievement.

b. Accelerated Summer Academic Program

An Accelerated Summer Academic Program (ASAP) continues the forward thrust of the year's focus on literacy and content area achievement through a thematic approach. LEP students are grouped by grade level and are teamed with English proficient students who receive Title 1 services, thereby further encouraging the use of English by LEP students.

One bilingual and one non-bilingual staff member work in teams in each classroom of fourteen students. A music teacher and a media specialist integrate music and Computer Assisted Instruction into daily content-based language instruction. Field trip sites are selected in conjunction with the themes taught to students, thereby enriching their language experiences. A final "Celebration of Talents" includes performances, demonstrations, and materials prepared by the students in English as well as the different languages they speak. Parents, community mem-

bers, school board members, administrators and State representatives are invited to join in this celebration.

Students participate in recreational activities coordinated by youth members who volunteer at ACCESS, the local community-based organization. These youth mentors act as positive role models to Dearborn students while carrying out neighborhood projects which preserve the environment and help the elderly.

Parent education is an integral part of ASAP, involving parents in daily small group discussions with specialists from different fields who volunteer their time and materials. Topics reflect parents' needs and interests.

Bilingual Family Math (Stenmark et al., 1986) and Playtime is Science (Sprung et al., 1990) activities are available to parents in order to support parent-child interaction and provide shared problem-solving experiences.

STUDENT ASSESSMENT AND PROGRAM EVALUATION

The district uses multiple measures to assess student performance in language and achievement, as recommended by Pierce (1992) and Tierney (1991). Assessment procedures are designed to identify LEP students, determine their placement, assess their instructional needs and monitor their achievement. Each LEP student is assessed in the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing of English using Pre LAS and LAS tests. Academic achievement in reading and math is assessed by norm-reference testing: the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) in grades 2 through 8, and Tests of Achievement and Proficiency (TAP) in grades 9 through 12.

Other measures include Observation Survey (Clay, 1993) for grades K-1, running records, and alternate ranking for elementary students completed by classroom teachers in collaboration with the bilingual and Title 1 staff.

Information gathered from this assessment is updated annually and serves as a basis for educational decisions, including reclassification, exiting, and placement in other programs.

The Michigan Educational Assessment Program (MEAP) is required by the state of Michigan. This state-developed test covers reading, mathematics, science, and social studies at various grade levels. The state goal in developing this test was to find a tool that could measure student mastery of the curriculum. The MEAP is given annually for students in grades 4, 7, and 11.

Both Title 1 and bilingual teams assess students, place them, and confer with classroom teachers to monitor progress. The department maintains a comprehensive data base that incorporates information on each student which includes demographics, developmental information, academic achievement scores, and referrals to health and social services.

A concerted effort is made to solidify the use of authentic assessment such as student portfolios and criterion-referenced tests. Individual portfolios and Individualized Educational Plans are kept for each student. These portfolios include samples of their work in the different subject areas so that students will be provided with systematic sequential instruction and monitored academic growth. The student support team members have access to this folder in order to monitor student progress and suggest modifications and improvement.

1. Program Evaluation

Each year, the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program is evaluated by an outside evaluator to assess progress and improve services to students, staff, and parents. The most recent complete evaluation indicates that LEP students made statistically significant progress in English (basic and advanced skills) as well as in math.

Table 2
The 1994 pre and post ITBS test results of LEP elementary students in Reading, Vocabulary and Mathematics.

Type of Subtest	Mean Gains	Standard Deviation	t-Value	Degrees of Freedom	1-tailed Probability
Vocabulary	8.07	12.59	24.86	1503	.000
Reading	7.99	14.06	22.02	1503	.000
Mathematics	28.27	26.49	41.38	1503	.000

The t-test was used to analyze the data for the whole elementary school sample obtained from the following subtests: Vocabulary, Reading and Mathematics. Table 2 lists the means of the pretest and posttest for each one of the three sub scales. The differences in the means of all the subtests indicate that the bilingual/ESL intervention (treatment) made a very significant contribution to student achievement, as measured by the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS).

Table 3
Comparison among the seven schools on reading.

School	Mean Gains	Standard Deviation	t-Value	Degrees of Freedom	1-tailed Probability
Maples	9.85	8.12	19.44	256	.000
Salina	7.63	8.16	15.32	256	.000
William Ford	8.00	7.58	15.24	207	.000
Lowery	9.52	13.95	13.91	414	.000
McDonald	7.02	8.00	10.90	155	.000
Oakman	7.57	9.07	9.62	132	.000
Woodworth	4.76	23.89	3.18	254	.002

Table 4
Comparison among the seven schools on vocabulary.

School	Mean Gains	Standard Deviation	t-Value	Degrees of Freedom	1-tailed Probability
Maples	11.19	9.32	19.25	256	.000
William Ford	9.30	7.99	16.79	207	.000
McDonald	8.53	8.81	12.09	155	.000
Salina	6.56	8.96	11.98	267	.000
Lowery	7.63	13.71	11.33	414	.000
Oakman	10.18	11.30	10.39	132	.000
Woodworth	6.63	16.91	6.26	254	.000

Table 5
Comparison among the seven schools on mathematics.

School	Mean Gains	Standard Deviation	t-Value	Degrees of Freedom	1-tailed Probability
Salina	42.05	11.90	57.84	267	.000
Oakman	37.52	19.38	22.33	132	.000
William Ford	30.94	20.67	21.58	207	.000
Maples	20.63	16.63	19.89	256	.000
Woodworth	37.78	32.94	18.31	254	.000
Lowery	21.98	28.90	15.50	414	.000
McDonald	18.8.7	15.81	14.91	155	.000

School by school breakdown (Tables 3, 4 & 5) of students' achievement scores further indicates the statistically significant difference in the students' academic achievement in math, reading and vocabulary in each school with a high concentration of LEP students.

In summary, the results of the statistical analysis performed by the outside program evaluator provide assurance that the significant academic gains demonstrated by the LEP students are due to the instructional design, partnership with parents, and the overall systemic changes implemented by the Dearborn Public Schools.

2. Additional Objectives to Accomplish

The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program strives to accomplish the following additional objectives:

- Provide evaluation components for new teaching models by implementing action research designs to assess the impact of selected intervention methods on student achievement and language proficiency
- Adopt evaluation procedures that examine key indicators for program implementation in addition to student outcomes
- Examine the rate of success LEP students are having in achieving the state academic standards by passing the Michigan Educational Assessment Program (MEAP)
- Expand the use of broader and culturally fair diagnostic tests: performance based and authentic assessment of reading and comprehending, writing samples to note change over time, open-ended math story problems
- Assess and modify instruction, models and means of delivery based on ongoing monitoring and evaluation of student academic achievement levels and Michigan Educational Assessment Program(MEAP) scores
- Conduct surveys to examine community perceptions of the Bilingual/ESL program regarding the variety of services provided and their effectiveness
- Use the media, TV and cable programs in order to inform the public of the goals and objectives of the Bilingual/ESL program as well as of its efforts to accelerate student English language acquisition and development.

FUTURE DIRECTION

The Dearborn School District strives to expand current efforts to integrate bilingual and compensatory education services by including other partners in this challenging mission. It is evident that systemic reform will require a more cohesive collaboration among available human as well as financial resources such as the Eisenhower professional development program, technology, family literacy, Even Start and Headstart, Safe and Drug-Free schools, the gifted and talented program, and the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act (IDEA).

The district school improvement committee has designed an integrated plan that is based on a districtwide assessment of the needs of students, staff, support staff, administrators, parents, and community leaders. Such a plan strives to be student-centered and has high expectations requiring interconnected services. A collective effort is being made among all parties to reach out to parents, thus linking schools, parents and communities across all educational disciplines.

Teachers can support student heritage as well as the American culture by incorporating cultural contributions in the school curriculum and using students and parents as key resources. This could also be strengthened through the provision of native language support and the integration of newcomers with English language speakers. Intensive staff development plans should focus on preparing teachers to work effectively with all students, including language minority students. Such training must include an understanding of the impact of language and culture on student achievement.

CONCLUSION

Staff members working with LEP students need to engage themselves in constant inquiry. They need to be culturally aware of the needs of diverse groups, use sound instructional techniques based on current educational research, and believe in continuous professional development. In addition to a strong partnership between schools and home, the effort of educational reform will be successful when it is collaborative, systemic and student-centered.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

SHEREEN ARRAF, Ph.D., is the Coordinator of the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Programs in the Dearborn Schools, Michigan. She effected the merger of Bilingual/ESL Chapter 1 and other state and federal programs in 1993 and has streamlined services for students by providing technical assistance and training in the area of systemic reform and integration of services. Dr. Arraf is also an adjunct professor at Institutions of Higher Education, an active member in several professional societies, and a dedicated volunteer in her community.

RUSSELL GERSTEN, Ph.D., is professor of educational research at the University of Oregon and president of the Eugene Research Institute. He has conducted numerous research studies in the field of bilingual education over the past 16 years.

ROSALIE PEDALINO PORTER, Ed.D., is chairman of the Board and acting director of The READ Institute. For ten years she was director of Bilingual and English as a Second Language Programs in the Newton, Massachusetts Public Schools. She has lectured widely on the subject of bilingualism both in the United States and Europe.